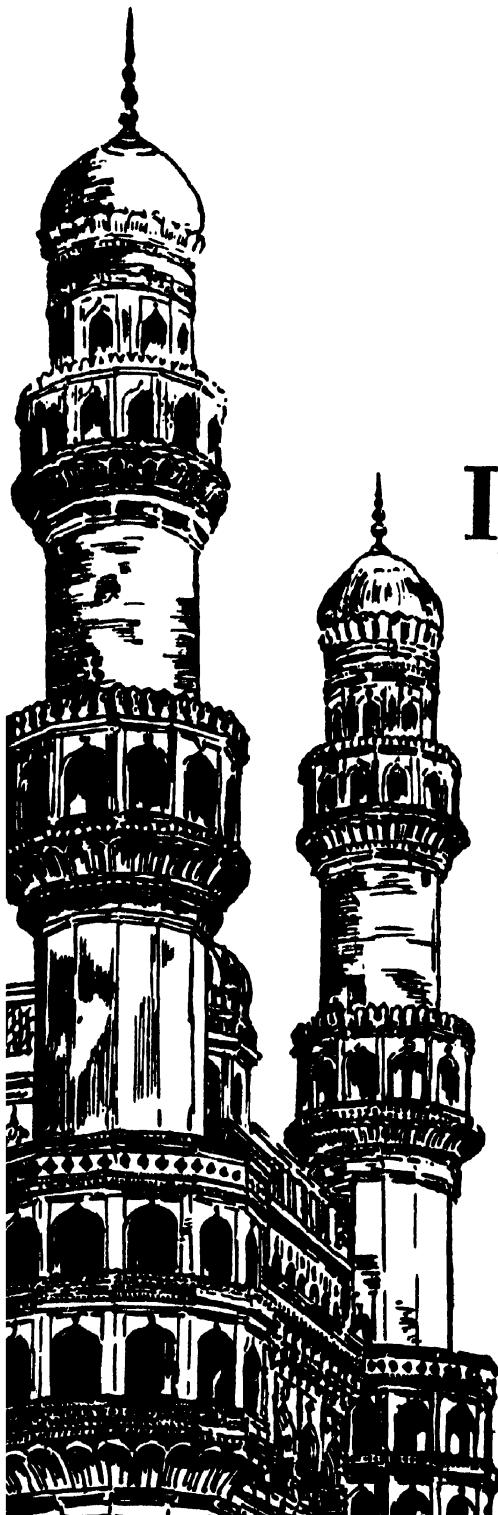


[And say : My Lord ! Increase me i

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Vol. XV,

*July, 19*

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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION : Inland Rs. 8/-, Foreign 16 sh., including registered postage. Single or Specimen copy Rs. 2/4/- (Inland) and 4 sh. 6 d. (Foreign). Back numbers from Vol. I to X @ Rs. 10/- a volume.



[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

# ISLAMIC CULTURE

Vol. XV, No. 3

*July, 1941*

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ISLAMIC CULTURE BOARD  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN



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discover in the lines which depict the Seven Sleepers: signs of the appearance of the chief who will establish justice upon this nether world.

Let us briefly return to the original form of the theme. In the Christian original (Greek rather than Syrian according to Peters), it is asserted that from the sixth Christian era (referring to the preceding century) the story is of seven officials of Ephesus who, fleeing from the persecution of the emperor Decius against the Christians, hide in a cave which is walled in. After the triumph of Christianity, 327 later (*sic*) the cave was discovered by accident and the Seven, who had not died but had fallen asleep, woke up. The bishop and the emperor, having been informed about the miracle, arrived to see them die, after having thus proved the truth about the resurrection.

In the Qur'ān, in accordance with the elliptic representation which is particular to it, the theme is condensed in three separate pictures : The Seven hidden in the cave pray to God after a courageous confession of faith. There during their sleep three miracles take place ; the sun avoiding the entrance of the cave, the bodies turn alternatively from right to left and the mysterious and ferocious dog who resting guards them while they are asleep. Finally the opening of the cave by which they are discovered and the advent of the *Hour of God* evokes two discussions. The first about the type of the buildings to be erected on the spot as a memorial, the second about their number (three, five or seven) and especially about the number of years which their sleep has lasted. The Qur'ān gives the figure 300 augmented by nine that is 309 years.

One sees clearly that the Quranic account does not stress the miracle of the resurrection but the duration of the sleep, the *Hour of Justice*. In scrutinising the Arabic text, one notices some key-words, inductors as psychoanalysts say, *Fatā* (*fitya, futuwwain* v. 10, 13) sources of the theories of prowess : *ladun* (v. 2, 9, 64 and 75) from which is derived the term *ladūnī* to designate that science which God communicates only to his saints ; and *Wilāya* (v. 42) which is to define the sanctity.

If we now consider the modern critical studies, we find that they deal principally with the geographical localisation of the legend : Ephesus, Yarpuz, Transjordania (by Clermont-Ganneau), Tebessa, etc. While recognising the ingenuity displayed in this sense, I have taken my own effort to another sphere.

In examining the earliest *Shī'ah* commentaries about this Sūra, I was struck by their archaic luxuriance. The discussion about the number 3, 5 or 7 of the Sleepers refers not only to the Pleyades (=3, 5 or 7 stars), but to three Imāmī sects of the second century of the Hijra, counting either three Imāms before al-Qā'im (Zādī Jādī sect) or five Imāms simultaneously (*Mukhammadī* sect), or seven Imāms (*Ismā'īlī* sect). The time spent in the cave by the Sleepers represents for all these legitimist sects the time of the domination of iniquity and oppression, the time during which the legitimate claimants were hidden in the *Cave of Secrecy*, the time of the *Ghaiba* or Occultation of justice. The length of this time

symbolises the resurrection (*Raj'a*) of legitimacy, which is not altogether a resurrection but rather an awakening. The great *Ismā'ilī* conspiracy which commenced in the year 290 (=in Arabic arithmology at the same time as is represented by the words "Maryam" and "Fātir" =*Fātima*) and succeeded in founding the Caliphal dynasty of the Fatimides professed officially that its triumph was in the year 309, predicted in the *Qur'ān*. (It dated actually a little later). Two other sects, that of the *Qarmatī* *Zakarī* in Bahrain took the figure 309 plus 10=319, while that of the *Azāriqa* at *Bağdād* took 309 plus 40 (the date of the death of 'Alī) thus also deriving the date of their rebellion, from the figure 309. One finds here the same Semitic taste for prophetic computations, the mechanism of which I have analysed elsewhere and which the commentators of the Bible know concerning the seventy weeks of Daniel.

The *Shi'ah* have also been attracted by the mysterious dog (*Catulus viricanus*? of the Latin legends of the sixth Christian era) which guarded the Seven Sleepers. According to the sects, it is either the first *Imām*, or his *Bāb*, *Salmān*, or in the hierarchy of the initiators of the sect a grade, that of the *Mukallib* (this is the theory of Ja'far b. Mansūr al-Yaman). (This grade is also found among the Druzes).

With the Sunnis the mystics have taken up the study of the Seven Sleepers, not in the form of a dynamic prevision for the insurrection for Justice, but under the static form of the description of the hierarchy of hidden saints, the *Abdāl*, who sustain the life of this perishable world here below by their merits. The Seven Sleepers are the seven *Abdāl*; *Bistāmī* was one of them, and they succeeded one another from age to age, in secret. The miracle of their bodies fallen asleep, turned alternately from right to left by divine grace has given place by analogy to the act and ritual of the washer of the dead Muslims (symbol of the congregational obedience "perinde ac cadaver" = since St. Nil and St. Francis of Assisi to St. Ignatius Loyola) and also casually by *Sahl Tustarī* to a very curious commentary of the verse (18 v. 8) by *Nūr ad-Dīn Kasirqī* in his *Tā'wilāt Najmiya*: The true Seven Sleepers of Islam are the hermits, whose Cavern is the hermitage into which they have fled, not out of fear from Decius, but from a desire to join God. For them the novice whom God attracts directly to Himself must dwell, as indicated by the *Sūra*, 309 years in a state of abandonment to God like the corpse in the hands of the washer of the dead, while the novice whom God confides to his religious superiors can arrive at perfection in one, two or three retreats of forty days.

The first case leads us to a celebrated Muslim mystic for his doctrine of divine union and its martyr, *Hallāj*, who was executed exactly in the year 309 of the *Hijra* and who was for his disciples symbolic of the consummation of the divine love, the final hour. (Thus it was publicly pronounced in *Khorāsān* in the town of *Taliqān*.)

A young contemporary Egyptian Muslim writer, M. *Tewfiq al-Hakīm* has again taken up the subject of the Seven Sleepers in a curious little drama, "*Ahl al-Kahf*." Of seven whose names serve traditionally as

talismans he retains only three. He assumes that one of them, *Mashiniya*, on his awakening falls in love with the daughter of the emperor in whom he believes to recognise his fiancee of yore, a distant relation of this young woman who happens to have inherited his engagement ring. The drama finishes with the death of the emperor's daughter who prefers to be walled in the cave which is closed again over the corpses of the Seven, identifying herself with the phantom which *Mashiniya* has believed to recognise in her in consequence of which "she has loved."

Renan has written that the resurrection of Christ was originally nothing but the illusion of a woman in love. What much more strongly one can say for a good many Muslims is that the weekly reading of the 18th Sūra has entertained them in the belief that the *Hour of God* will come at its appointed time to consummate all justice. Victor Hugo has sung of this posthumous revenge of the astronomer Halley, dead and forgotten, when the comet reappeared at the very time which he had calculated.

More profoundly, and that is what T. al-Hakim has suggested, to awake after so many years, has only meaning for those who find the same love at the terminus of slow germination in their hearts, visited by Grace of the Eternal Spring (*Subḥ al-Azal*).

F. KRENKOW.

# MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

## PART III.—HOSTILE RELATIONS

### CHAPTER I—*Preliminary Remarks*

A TRADITIONAL connexion is traced between war and Islam by interested savants. It will be interesting to note what Islam has contributed to mitigate the horrors of war and make it more humane. The Prophet of Islam is reported to have said : “I am the prophet of mercy, I am the prophet of battle” (<sup>١</sup>أنا نبی الرحمة أنا نبی الملحمة). And again : “I am the most valiant yet the most cheerful fighter” (<sup>٢</sup>أنا الضحوک القتال). These two *obiter dicta* may be taken as striking the keynote of the whole Muslim law of war.

### CHAPTER II

#### *Various Kinds of Hostile Relations*

BEFORE we begin with the laws of war, it is to be noted that the hostile relations of two or more states do not always amount to war. More often than not they fall short of war ; and fighting and bloodshed, or at least, the mobilisation of the whole of the public forces of a state does not take place. These relations must be dealt with first.

##### 1. *Reprisals.*

These signify a forcible mode of redress by which often a resort is made to the so-called *lex talionis*. Such are the seizure or destruction by one state of the property belonging to another state or its subjects, the detention of ambassadors, temporary occupation of the adversary's territory, and the like. In this connexion the Qur'ān lays down :—

The forbidden things are reciprocal. So one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you and fear God. And

1. Ibn-Taimiyah, *الإریخ الكبير*, I, p. 8 ; *Dhahabiy*, *السياسة الشرعية*, *نی التوبہ والملحمة*.

2. Ibn-Taimiyah, *ibid.*

know that God is with those who fear [Him]. (2 : 194).

The guerdon of an ill-deed is an ill the like thereof. But whoever pardoneth and amendeth, his wage is the affair of God. Lo ! He loveth not wrong-doers. And whoso defendeth himself after he hath suffered wrong—for such, there is no way of blame against them. The way of blame is only against those who oppress mankind, and wrongfully rebel in the earth. For such there is a painful doom. (42 : 40-42. Cf. 10 : 28, 40 : 40).

The expedition of Mut'ah<sup>1</sup> was intended for similar purposes. The plenipotentiaries of the Quraish were detained, after the conclusion of the treaty of Hudaibiyah,<sup>2</sup> on the same grounds. In later Islamic history such cases abound.

## 2. *Pacific Blockade.*

This means a blockade of the port or ports of the enemy and the preventing of all ingress or egress, but no bombardment. This blockade has for object the obtaining of redress. This is a later occurrence, and I could not find an earlier instance than 1866-68, when the Turks, during a rebellion, blockaded Crete and thus crushed the insurrection. The note of Muṣṭafā Pāshā may be referred to in this connexion with profit.<sup>3</sup>

## 3. *Miscellanea.*

In modern times, other kinds of hostile activities falling short of war are to be noted, for instance, the breaking off of diplomatic relations, postponement of the enforcing of treaties, economic pressure and a variety of other things.

Further, frontier incidents occurring from time to time, and skirmishes and clashes between the forces of states whose tense relations have not yet developed into actual war must also be classed in this category of relations.

# CHAPTER III

## *Nature and Definition of War*

I NEED not enter into any philosophical or historical discussion of war. It may, however, briefly be noted that Muslims, too, think of war

1. Ṭabarī, *Hist.*, I, 1610 ; Ibn-Hishām, p. 791ff.; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, 92 ; Mas'ūdiy, *Tanbih*, 265. (The expedition of Mu'tah was in fact a reprisal for the assassination of a Muslim envoy by a Ghassānid chief.

2. Ḥalabīy, *Insān*, III, 26 ; Dahlān, *Sīrah*, II, 46.

3. Holland, *Studies in International Law*, p. 135.

only as unavoidable, not as desired or to be sought after. The Qur'ān says : " And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in God."<sup>1</sup> And again : " So do not falter, and invite to peace when ye are the uppermost. And God is with you, and he will not grudge (the reward of) your actions."<sup>2</sup> A *Hadith* of the Prophet goes : " Do not be eager to meet the enemy, but ask God for safety. Yet if you meet them, persevere and have patience ; and know that Paradise is under the shadows of swords."<sup>3</sup> On another occasion, the Prophet said : " Do not be eager to meet the enemy, perhaps you may be put to test by them, but rather say : O God ! Suffice for us, and keep their might away from us."<sup>4</sup>

A later Muslim author strikes an interesting note by saying :

Wars are accidents among the happenings of the time, just like sicknesses, in contrast to peace and security, which resemble health for bodies. So it is necessary to preserve health by means of political action, and to shun sickness by means of warlike action, and to busy one's self in preserving health.<sup>5</sup>

الحروب هي العوارض من حوادث  
الزمان كالأمراض كما ان الامن  
والسلامة كالصحة للا جساد فيجب  
حفظ الصحة بالأمور السياسية ودفع  
المرض بالأمور الحربية والا شتعال  
بحفظ الصحة .

### *Definition of War.*

An old Muslim jurisconsult, al-Kāsāniy, defines *jihād*, or the war of the Muslims, thus : " *Jihād* in the technology of law is used for expending ability and power in fighting in the path of God by means of life, property, tongue and other than these."<sup>6</sup> The same thing is repeated in different words by practically all the later Muslim writers on Muslim law, but no one mentions in the definition who it is who will undertake a war : the public or the government ? Incidentally the question is answered in the course of other discussion. So Abū-Yūsuf, the Chief Qādī of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, says : No army marches without permission of the Caliph (الاتسرى سرية بغير إذن الامام).<sup>7</sup> Al-Māwardīy is also clear about it that a war cannot be waged without permission of the Caliph (central government).<sup>8</sup> Defence of foreign aggression must naturally be excepted. As-

1. Qur'ān, 8 : 61.

2. Qur'ān, 47 : 35.

3. Bukhāriy, 56 : 112, 156 ; 94 : 8. Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, V, 143. Abū Dāwūd, 15 : 89. Dārimiy, 17 : 6. Ibn-Hanbal, II, 400, 523 ; IV, 353.

4. Ibn-Qutaibah, 'Uyūnul-Akkhbār, I, 107 (ch. Kitāb al-Harb).

5. Hasan-ibn-'Abdallāh, تار الاول في ترتيب الدول (compiled 708 H.), p. 167.

6. بدائع الصناع VII, 97.

7. اخراج p. 123.

8. الاحكام السلطانية , p. 53.

Sarakhsiy, commenting on *ash-Shaibaniy*, goes even so far as to maintain that if a foreign armed force without permission of its government takes belligerent action against a Muslim State, that does not amount to a declaration or existence of war between the two states.<sup>1</sup> In such cases redress may be obtained by diplomatic negotiations and even by direct methods as the occasion may require.

As all the acts of life of a Muslim are controlled by the Qur'ān, so every thing he does with the intention of obeying his Lord are acts religiously held to be meritorious, even his eating and drinking—in order to preserve strength for performing his duties to God—or taking part in a war—in order to establish on earth the kingdom of God. Without appreciating this background, it will not be easy to understand why even wars of expansion are to be considered as acts *in the path of God*. In a verse of the Qur'ān often referred to it is stated :—

Lo ! God hath bought from the believers their lives and their wealth because Paradise will be theirs : they shall fight in the path of God and shall slay and be slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'ān, and who fulfilleth his covenant better than God ? Rejoice then in your bargain that ye have made, for that is the supreme triumph. (9 : 111).

These and scores of other verses and Traditions of the Prophet render military service an obligatory duty of every Muslim. Ordinarily women and slaves are exempt, but if the rest of the man-power proves insufficient, even these are liable to active military service.<sup>2</sup> Regarding training and preparations in time of peace we read again in the Qur'ān :

And make ready for them all ye can of armed force and of horses tethered, that ye may dismay the enemy of God and your enemy and others beside them whom ye know not ; God knoweth them. And whatsoever ye spend in the path of God, it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged. And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in God. Lo ! He is the Hearer, the Knower. (8 : 60-61).

## CHAPTER IV

### *Legal Wars*

THE lawful reasons for Muslims to wage war may fall into the following categories :

1. مجمع البحرين , IV, 226. Cf. Kāṣaniy, بامن , VII, 109-10. Ibn-Farishtah, شرح السير الكبير (my private manuscript) ; فتاوى عالىٰ كتبية , ch. Jihād, pp 221-22.

2. *Fatāwī Tātār Khāniyah*, (My priv. MS.), ch. Jihād ; etc.

### 1. *The Continuation of an Existing War.*

By this we mean the recommencement of a war which has been stopped for some reason or other. The exhaustion of both the parties or separation of them without any treaty of peace,<sup>1</sup> the suspension of warlike activities by mutual agreement for fixed periods,<sup>2</sup> and such other instances may be examples thereof. The Qur'ān lays down in this connexion : " And when the months of immunity [on account of the treaty of peace] have passed, slay the Associators wherever ye find them, and take them (captive) and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush."<sup>3</sup> Commenting on this verse, Sarakhsīy says :—

And when the months of immunity have passed, slay the Associators wherever ye find them. And the meaning of the Qur'ānic expression "When the months of immunity have passed" is that when the period of the truce with someone has ended.<sup>4</sup>

### 2. *Defence.*

This can be either when the enemy (*a*) has invaded Muslim territory, or (*b*) has not actually so invaded, but has behaved in an unbearable manner. The former needs no elaborate discussion. The Qur'ān lays down : " Fight in the path of God against those who fight against you, but do not transgress. Lo ! God loveth not transgressors."<sup>5</sup> Regarding the high-handed behaviour of a foreign country, an interesting quotation will explain Muslim law on the point :—

Sanction is given unto those who are fought against because they have been wronged ; and God is indeed Able to give them victory.<sup>6</sup>

—This referred to the Prophet and other Muslims who had taken refuge in Madīnah and were still being harassed by the Meccans in many ways. They addressed, for instance, an ultimatum to a Madinite magnate, 'Abdullāh-ibn-Ubāiy, either to fight and kill or expel the Prophet, or they would attack Madīnah.<sup>7</sup> Many traditions bear witness to the fact that in the early days after the migration of the Prophet, the Muslim community of Madīnah lived such a precarious life that they used to sleep in full war-kit.<sup>8</sup> Another instance is provided by the expedition against Dūmatuljandal in the year 5 H., where the local chieftain, Ukaidir,

1. Almost all the wars of the Prophet with the Meccans were of this kind.

2. The peace-treaty of Hudaibiyyah provided for cessation of hostilities for ten years.

3. Qur'ān, 9 : 5.

4. المراد بقوله تعالى "فَإِذَا انْسَلَخَ الْأَشْهُرُ الْحُرُمُ" مُضى مُدَةُ الْمُهَاجِرِ الَّتِي كَانَ لِبَعْضِهِمْ : 688, I, شرح السير الكبير.

5. Qur'ān, 2 : 190.

6. Qur'ān, 22 : 39.

7. Sunan of Nas'īy, II, 67, ch. Khabar Bani-an-Naḍīr.

8. Bukhāriy, Nasā'iy, Ḥākim, Dārimiy, etc., quoted by Shibli, سیرت النبی 2nd ed. I, 285-286.

was molesting the caravans coming from the north to Madinah.<sup>1</sup> The attack on Khaibar is an instance of nipping war in the bud.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Sympathetic.

By this we mean that were the Muslims of a foreign denomination to seek the help of the Muslim State against their (non-Muslim) government, help might be given them. The Qur'an lays down in this connexion that each case must be decided on its own merits :—

(a) And those who believe but have not left their homes, ye have no duty to protect till they leave their homes ; but if they seek help from you in the matter of religion, then it is your duty to help (them) except against a folk between whom and you there is a treaty. God is Seer of what ye do. (8 : 72).

(b) How should ye not fight for the cause of God and of the feeble among men and of the women and the children who are crying : Our Lord ! Bring us forth out from this town of which the people are oppressors ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some protecting friend ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some defender. Those who believe do battle for the cause of God ; and those who disbelieve do battle for the cause of the Devil. (4 : 75-76).

### 4. Punitive.

The following causes constitute lawful reasons for waging war, *viz.*, hypocrisy,<sup>3</sup> apostasy,<sup>4</sup> insisting on the non-binding character of *zakāt* or any other religious duty,<sup>5</sup> rebellion,<sup>6</sup> breaking of a covenant by the other party,<sup>7</sup> becoming a Khārijite, because such people say that the generality of the Muslim community is hypocritical and take arms against the established government.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Mas'ūdiy*, *Tanbih*, 248.

2. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, 66, 47. *Tabariy*, *Hist.*, I, 1556, 1575-6. *Mas'ūdiy*, *Tanbih*, 250. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt* X, 86.

3. Qur'an, 66 : 9.

4. See *infra*, in a separate chapter.

5. The Caliph Abū-Bakr fought against them. There are *hadīth*es to support that, e.g. al-Baihaqī in امرت ان اقاتل الناس حتى يشهدوا : قاتل الضرب الثاني من اهل الرد . Sunan al-Kubrā, Vol. 7, ch. ان لا إله إلا الله وان رسول الله ويعيوا الصلاة ويتو ازكارة فاذا فعلوا ذلك عصموا من دمائهم واموالهم وحسبهم على الله .

6. Qur'an, 49 : 9. Cf. also *infra*, separate chapter.

7. Qur'an, 9 : 12. Cf. *Sarakhsiy*, iv, 65.

8. The Caliph 'Aliy fought against them, for whose interpretation of a tradition of the Prophet in his support cf. *Sarakhsiy*, مبسوط X, 124.

### 5. Idealistic.

Every nation has its own ideals which constantly inspire it. The deeper a nation is convinced of them, the greater is its effort to realise them. As we have seen above, the Islamic conception of life is based on the Unity of God and the vicegerency of man on earth. This implies that all the Faithful are equal, irrespective of race and clime, and also that the word of God should rule supreme in the world. It is this mission to uproot godlessness and association with God in His Divinity that is referred to in Islamic literature by the expression "In the Path of God" (نَّ سَبِيلَ اللَّهِ) which we have translated as "Idealistic" reasons for waging war. Of the scores of Qur'ānic verses in this connexion, a few may be quoted :—

(a) He it is Who hath sent His messenger (*i.e.*, Muḥammad) with the Guidance and the Religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all religion, however much the associators may be averse. (9 : 33. repeated in 48 : 28, 61 : 9).

(b) Ye (*i.e.*, the Muslims) are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency, and ye believe in God. (3 : 110).

The same selfless Divine mission is most vividly described in an oft-quoted saying of the Prophet :—

Whoever from among you sees an indecency, he must change it by his hand ; if he cannot, he must do so by his tongue ; if he cannot, he must do so by his heart (through disapproval, etc.) but this last would testify to the extreme weakness of Faith.<sup>1</sup>

Islam has recognised a certain amount of latitude in personal judgement, and hence the sharp distinction between the Islamic rule and the Islamic faith. No one is to be forced to embrace the Islamic faith, as we shall see presently, yet Islamic rule is to be established by all means. It was this basic distinction that non-Muslims are tolerated in an Islamic polity as inhabitants, as we have seen in Part II, Chapter IV, (b).

Regarding freedom of conscience we read in the Qur'ān :—

(a) There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction has become distinct from error. (2 : 256).

(b) Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion. (109 : 6).

(c) And strive for God with the endeavour which is His right. He hath chosen you, and hath not laid upon you in religion any hardship ; the faith of your father Abraham (is yours). He hath named you Muslims of old time and (also) in this (scripture, *i.e.*, Qur'ān), that the Messenger may be a witness against you, and that ye may be witnesses against mankind. So establish worship, pay the Zakāt-tax, and hold fast to God. He is your Protecting Friend, and what a blessed Friend and a blessed Helper ! (22 : 78).

1. *Sahih of Muslim*, I, 50.

and similar other verses.

It is with this background that we ought to read the Fiqh books which expose Muslim law of war. They say,<sup>1</sup> When a Muslim state is free from internal commotion and strife, and has sufficient power to hope for victory in case of resistance, then it is its duty to invite the neighbouring non-Muslim sovereigns to accept the unity of God as an article of faith and to believe in Muḥammad as the messenger of God, in short to embrace Islam. If they do, they will retain their power and will secure themselves against hostility on the part of the Muslim state. If the invitation is rejected, the non-Muslim chief within the Arabian Peninsula has no other choice but to face the sword. If, however, his territory is outside Arabia, the alternative is to pay yearly *jizyah* or the protection-tax, which will secure his territory against Muslim attack. If both these alternatives are rejected and all peaceful persuasion and reasoning fail, then it is the duty of the Muslim state to declare war in the name of God until it conquers or receives the *jizyah*, or has the gratification to know that the other party has at last embraced Islam.

In subsequent chapters we shall see what are the actual laws which Islam has prescribed for the conduct of war regarding different kinds of enemies.

## CHAPTER V

### *Enemy Persons*

ENEMY persons, according to how they are treated, are of four kinds, *viz.*, apostates, rebels, highwaymen and pirates, and non-Muslim belligerents in general. The first three kinds are generally the subjects of the Muslim State and the last one consists of foreigners.

We shall deal with them *seriatim*. But it is to be noted from the very beginning that apostates, rebels and highwaymen come under international law only when they are of sufficient power or have acquired territory and rule over it.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise they belong to the ordinary criminal law of the land, and the treatment meted out to them has no relation to our subject.

## CHAPTER VI

### *Apostasy*

TO wage war against apostates is justified on the same principle as that on which the punishment of a solitary apostate is based. The

1. Cf. any compendium of Muslim law, ch. War. (*Mabsūt*, Vol. 10, *Badā'i'* of Kāṣānīy, Vol. 7, Māwardiy and Abū-Ya'lā's *Aḥkāmus-Sultāniyah*, Shāfi'iy's *Umm*, Vol. 4, Sarakhsiy's *Sharḥ as-siyar al-kabir*, Vols. 1-4).

2. Māwardiy, *al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniyah*, 90, 92, 96.

basis of Muslim polity being religious and not ethnological or racial or linguistic, it is not difficult to appreciate the reason for penalising this act of apostasy. For it constitutes a politico-religious rebellion.

Apostasy in Muslim law means turning from Islam after being a Muslim. Not only does it occur when a person declares his conversion to some non-Islamic religion, but also when he refuses to believe in any and every article of the Islamic faith.<sup>1</sup>

The sayings<sup>2</sup> and the doings<sup>3</sup> of the Prophet, the decision and practice of the Caliph Abū-Bakr,<sup>4</sup> the consensus of the opinion of the Companions of the Prophet and all the later Muslim jurisconsults,<sup>4</sup> and even certain indirect verses of the Qur'ān,<sup>5</sup> all prescribe capital punishment for an apostate. In the case of apostasy, no distinction is made between a Muslim born of Muslim parents and a convert ; and similarly there is no difference between accepting Judaism or Christianity, atheism or idol-worship or any other non-Islamic faith. Nevertheless Muslim jurists emphasise that before prosecuting and condemning an apostate, it is necessary officially to discuss the matter with him and to remove his doubts regarding the soundness and reasonableness of the Islamic point of view in the matter concerned. Time is given him for reflection<sup>6</sup> sometimes even for months<sup>7</sup> before finally proceeding with the prosecution.

In case an insane person,<sup>8</sup> a delirious, a melancholy and perplexed man,<sup>8</sup> a minor,<sup>8</sup> one intoxicated,<sup>8-9</sup> one who has declared his faith in Islam under coercion,<sup>9</sup> and a person whose faith in Islam has not been known or established,<sup>10</sup> were to become an apostate, he would not suffer the supreme penalty. So, too, an apostate woman,<sup>8-11</sup> and a hermaphrodite,<sup>10</sup> according to the Ḥanafiy school of law, would not be condemned to death, but imprisoned and even physically tortured. An old man from whom no off-spring is expected is also excepted.<sup>12</sup>

### *Treatment of an Apostate.*

An apostate has to choose between Islam and the sword : he cannot be given quarter (أمان), nor will he be allowed to become a *dhimmiy*,

1. Māwardiy, p. 89 ; نَوْيَةَ عَالِمٍ بِرَبِّهِ.

2. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 98.

3. Māwardiy, p. 90, Ṭabarī, *Hist.*, I, 1639 ff.

4. Kāṣāniy, *Badā'i'*, VII, 134.

5. Qur'ān, 33 : 57, 5 : 54.

6. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 98-99.

7. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 110 :

8. Kāṣāniy, *Badā'i'*, VII, 134.

9. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 123.

10. Ibn-'Ābidin, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 326-7.

11. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 111, Sarakhsiy, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, ch. الخير يتحقق بالذنب (I have consulted MS. No. 1838, Bayazid, Istanbul).

12. Ibn-'Ābidin, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 246.

i.e., a resident non-Muslim subject of the Muslim state on payment of the yearly protection tax.<sup>1</sup>

*De jure* he is dead. So if he does not re-embrace Islam, and escapes to some non-Muslim territory, his property in the Islamic territory will be distributed among his Muslim heirs<sup>2</sup> as if he were dead. In addition to this, the debts due to him will be wiped out if he has reached non-Muslim territory. This is what Māwardiy says,<sup>3</sup> but I wonder why these debts should not be inherited by the heirs of the renegade just like the rest of his property ?

*Distinctions between the Territory of Apostates and the Territory of Ordinary non-Muslims.*

Māwardiy writes that there are five characteristics in the territory of apostates (دار الردة), which distinguish it from the territory of ordinary non-Muslims (دار الكفر), namely :<sup>4</sup>

1. A treaty of peace or alliance is not ordinarily allowed with apostates ; no such restriction exists in relation to ordinary non-Muslim foreigners.

2. An apostate is not allowed to become a *dhimīy* (non-Muslim subject of the Muslim state) ; not so an original non-Muslim.

3. As an apostate has nothing to choose but the re-embracing of Islam or the sword, he cannot be enslaved and so let live.

4. The booty acquired from an apostate is not to be distributed among the capturing troop ; it will go to the general exchequer. The different kinds of property captured from an ordinary non-Muslim belligerent will be treated in a subsequent chapter. It is to be noted, however, that property of dead apostates, captured during a conflict, at once becomes the property of the Muslim state ; but if living, his property is to be held in trust to be returned to him on re-embracing Islam or finally to be confiscated at his death.

5. Apostates made prisoners, if they do not re-embrace Islam, will in due course be beheaded—no quarter may be given them as is the case regarding ordinary belligerent prisoners.

So far the differences ; yet there are also certain similarities between the treatment<sup>5</sup> of apostates and that of non-Muslim belligerents. So an apostate is not held responsible for the destruction of Muslim life and property during the war, upon his return to Islam. This was actually

1. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 116.

2. Ibn-'Abidin, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 328-9 ; Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 100.

3. *Al-Ahkām as-sultāniyah*, *in loco*.

4. Māwardiy, *al-Ahkām as-Sultāniyah*, p. 94.

5. Generally for their treatment, Tabariy, *Hist*. year 11 H., *Kitāb-ar-riddah* of Wāqidiy, MS. of Bānkipūr, *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 98-124.

decided in the time of the first Caliph, and of course his precedent could not be contested. Further, in being fought and pursued, the apostates are the same as other non-Muslim enemy combatants. Their ambassadors, too, will receive the same rights and immunities. So, during the life of the Prophet, the ambassadors of Musailimah, the Impostor, came to Madinah ; and, on being asked, replied that they too held the notions of him who sent them. At this the Prophet said : " But for the fact that ambassadors cannot be killed, by God, I would have ordered you both to be beheaded." (They were Muslim subjects who had apostatised). Moreover, an apostate cannot inherit from his Muslim relatives.

## CHAPTER VII

### *Civil Wars and Rebellions*

FROM the pre-Islamic point of view, this Chapter alone would represent Muslim International Law, that is, public law between Muslim states, for here is described the treatment reserved for an equally civilised enemy. But Muslim law is based on the conception of the unity of Islam, and no wonder, therefore, that scarcely any provision has been made, in the positive law of Islam, regarding this kind of war. In the whole of the Qur'ān I found only one verse which deals with the subject :—

And if two parties of Believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of God ; then, if it return, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo ! God loveth the equitable. (49 : 9).

And this solitary command is immediately followed by :—

The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to God that haply ye may obtain mercy. (49 : 10).

In the traditions of the Prophet also there are only a few sayings in general terms which do not help in constructing a whole system. We shall refer to these presently. The Muslim law of rebellion, as exposed in legal compendia, is generally based on the Orthodox Practice of the Caliph 'Aliy, though it must be admitted that no later Muslim ruler reached the sublime height of idealism evinced by the pious son-in-law of the Prophet.

#### (a) *Various Kinds of Opposition.*

According to the degree and nature of opposition to an established government, the following classification is humbly submitted :—

1. Religious grounds—the Khārijism.

2. Political or worldly reasons :

- i. Insurrection.
- ii. Mutiny.
- iii. War of Deliverance.
- iv. Rebellion.
- v. Civil War.

1. Opposition on religious grounds.

So far as I know, only one instance is recorded by Muslim history of religious dissentients who were able to resist the whole government forces for any length of time. This refers to the Khārijites (literally the *dissentients*) who believed in a sort of *anarchy*, and accused all the rest of the Muslims of heresy and even disbelief. If they do not oppose any armed resistance to the established government, they are tolerated more or less in the same way as any other unorthodox sect.<sup>1</sup> If they are no longer passive, and try to disestablish and replace the actual government, they will be treated just like political rebels. No special privileges are attached to religious rebellion as distinguished from political rebellions.

2. Opposition to the government on political and worldly grounds.

(i) If it is directed against certain acts of government officials, and no revolution is intended, we may call it *insurrection*. Their punishment belongs to the law of the land. International law does not take notice of them.

(ii) If the insurrection is intended to overthrow the legally established government on unjustifiable grounds, we call it *mutiny*.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) On the other hand, if the insurrection is directed against a government established illegally, or which has become illegal for its tyranny, we may term the agitation a *war of deliverance* no matter whether the government under which the Muslim community is toiling is Muslim or non-Muslim.

(iv) If the insurgents grow more powerful to the extent of occupying some territory and controlling it in defiance of the home government, we have a case of *rebellion*. The reluctance of some tribes, after the death of the Prophet, to pay government taxes was considered a rebellious act, and instructions were issued by the Caliph Abū-Bakr to subjugate them by force of arms. These people had not abjured Islam; only they did not feel themselves bound to pay taxes to the central government.

(v) If the rebellion grows to the proportion of a government equal to the mother government, and hostilities continue, we may term it a *civil war*. There is no difference whether a rebel pretender has acquired power and successes, or, at the death or deposition of a head of the state, two claimants have sprung up and the sympathies of the people

1. *Sarakhsīy, Mabsūt*, X, 125 : Māwardiy, p. 96.

2. For further discussion cf. *محل طلاقاً بين*, Hyderabad, Oct. 1940, p. 11-12.

are divided. The wars between 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah may be cited as an instance. Mu'āwiyah had theoretically not rebelled against 'Alīy since he had not taken the oath of 'Alīy's allegiance but opposed him ever since the murder of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān.

(b) *Treatment of Rebels, etc.*

According to al-Māwardiy, the punishment of rebels, in Muslim law, is not capital<sup>1</sup>—they may be killed only on the battlefield, at the time of combat.<sup>2</sup> Generally this is true, but it cannot be taken strictly. For as-Sarakhsiy is explicit<sup>3</sup> that on certain occasions, as for example when the rebellion is not yet completely subdued, the rebel prisoners may be beheaded. Of course, this refers only to the case when the rebel remains obstinate, and his repentance is not established.

One should warn the rebels of the consequences of their persistence, and one should excuse oneself before beginning battle.<sup>4</sup> According to Māwardiy,<sup>5</sup> night assaults and attacks without warning or notice are to be avoided in order to diminish Muslim bloodshed. But in the actual fight, rebels are treated in the same manner as non-Muslim belligerents. Even if a loyal subject who is, somehow or other, in the ranks of the rebels, be killed by the Muslim troops, the latter cannot be held responsible.<sup>6</sup>

The aim of a fight with rebels is to prevent them from disturbing peace and order, not to kill them and exterminate them.<sup>7</sup>

They may be pursued and killed only when they have a stronghold wherein to take refuge and prepare for further fight.<sup>8</sup>

A rebel, unlike an apostate, may be given quarter.<sup>9</sup>

The judgement of a court in a rebel state will be regarded as lawful and valid, and will not be upset when that country is subdued, unless it is proved that a certain decision has been contrary to Muslim law and no school of orthodox Muslims upheld it.<sup>10</sup>

If a subject of the Muslim state, whether prisoner, trader or otherwise, commits a crime in rebel territory, no suit may be brought against him in the court of the Muslim territory, not even at the reconquest by the Muslim state of the place where the criminal act was committed.<sup>11</sup> For

1. *Al-Ahkām as-Sultāniyah*, p. 97.

2. *Idem*, p. 100.

3. *Mabsūt*, X, 126.

4. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ash-Shaibāniy*, *Kitāb al-Asl*, ch. الخوارج وأهل البغى, (MS. Aya Sofia, No. 1076).

7. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

8. *Ash-Shaibāniy*, *op. cit.*, same place; cf. *Mas'ūdiy*, *Murūj*, IV, 316 for the sayings of the Caliph 'Alīy.

9. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 129.

10. *Idem*, p. 130, 135.

11. *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 130.

the jurisdiction of the loyal court did not extend to that place at the time.

As we shall see in the Chapter on *Quarter*, even the lowest of the Muslims, a slave even, can validly give quarter to a belligerent, and the quarter accorded by rebels to non-Muslims or even a treaty of friendship concluded with them is considered binding on the Muslim state which cannot molest them.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the classical jurists know the subtle difference between quarter or a treaty of amity and between an alliance to fight against the Muslim state. So as-Sarakhsiy says :

If the rebels asked for the help of some non-Muslim state in order to fight against the Muslim state, and they did fight, and finally the Muslim state defeated them, they could be enslaved (like ordinary non-Muslim belligerents). For the asking of help by the rebels is not like giving quarter, since the recipient of quarter enters the Muslim territory for pacific purposes, whereas these did not enter Muslim territory except to fight loyal Muslim subjects.<sup>2</sup>

### (c) *Belligerent Rights of Rebels.*

Rights of full belligerency are conceded by Muslim law to rebels. As we have just seen, the judgement of their court is ordinarily not reversed after their submission. Similarly, if they collect revenue or other taxes, the people will be released from their obligation, and upon reconquest, the Muslim state may not exact the same taxes again.<sup>3</sup> So too, if a merchant entres the rebel territory and pays customs duties, he will have to pay again on the border of the loyal Muslim territory,<sup>4</sup> as if the rebel state were a foreign state. That they may conclude treaties with foreign states has already been mentioned in the previous section, and their effects too have been described. Moreover, for wrongs committed in rebel territory, the culprit cannot be tried in the court of the loyal Muslim territory.<sup>5</sup>

The mutual loss to life and property caused during a conflict is to be left without exacting punishment, and no retaliation or damages may be assessed even when the culprits are identified.<sup>6</sup> This immunity accrues to them on account of their being a *de facto* state; otherwise if a band of robbers were to attack and plunder a city, their acts are not treated with impunity.<sup>7</sup> Although Abū-Yūsuf records the opinion of some jurists to the contrary, he is definite that only the war material captured from rebels ought to be treated as war booty and cannot be returned to the relatives

1. *Mabsūt of as-Sarakhsiy*, X, 133.

2. *Idem*, p. 136.

3. *Sarakhsiy* and others *in loco*.

4. *Māwardiy*, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

5. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 130.

6. *Idem*, p. 127-28, quoting a precedent of the Caliph Abū-Bakr.

7. *Idem*, p. 135.

of the rebels ;<sup>1</sup> other property ought to return to rightful owners or their heirs as was 'Aliy's practice.<sup>2</sup>

The subdued rebels are, however, ordered by Muslim law to return to the rightful owner what they still actually possess of the property captured from loyal Muslim subjects.<sup>3</sup>

(d) *Special Privileges of Rebels.*

Unlike a non-Muslim state, no tribute can be taken from rebels if, for some reason or other, the Muslim state is willing to make peace with them. And if at all anything is taken, it must be ascertained to whether it was private property of rebels or the property of the state, collected or captured by them : if it is government property, then the Muslim state may expend it for purposes for which it was intended ; and if it is the private property of the rebels, then the Muslim state has no right to appropriate it, but must return it, sooner or later, to its rightful owners.<sup>4</sup>

Save in defence, weapons unnecessarily destructive are not to be used against the rebels.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding a rebel force, 'Aliy is reported to have ordered :

When you defeat them, do not kill their wounded, do not behead the prisoners, do not pursue those who return and retreat, do not enslave their women, do not mutilate their dead, do not uncover what is to remain covered, do not approach their property except what you find in their camp of weapons, beasts, male or female slaves : all the rest is to be inherited by their heirs according to the Writ of God.<sup>6</sup>

واذا هزمتموهم فلا تجهزوا على جريمة  
ولا تقتلوا على اسير ولا تتبعوا مولى  
ولا تطلبوا مدبرا ولا تنكشروا عودة  
ولا تشنوا بقيل ولا تهتكوا سترها  
ولا تقربوا من اموالهم الا ما  
تجدونه في عسكرهم من سلاح  
او كراع او عبد او امة . و ماسوى  
ذلك فهو ميراث لو دشتهم  
على كتاب الله .

One of 'Aliy's commanders wrote in a despatch :

To the Servant of God, 'Aliy, Commander of the Faithful, from Ma'qil-ibn-Qais : Salutation and praise to God ! We

لعبد الله على أمير المؤمنين من معقل  
بن قيس . سلام عليك فاني أحمد

1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 132.

2. Ibid. Cf. also, *Murūj* of Mas'ūdiy, IV, 417, Dinawariy, p. 213.

3. Ibid.

4. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

5. Ibid.

6. *Murūj* of Mas'ūdiy, IV, 316-17; يو سف بن محمد بن ابراهيم ; الا علم بالمرورب الواقعة في صدر الاسلام ،fol. 86a (MS. Cairo, hist. No. 399).

encountered the dissentients who had sought help against us from the *Associators*. We killed them like the Amalekites<sup>1</sup> yet we did not transgress thy conduct : we did not kill the retreating dissentients, nor the prisoners, nor killed the wounded among them. God has given victory to thee and the Muslims. Praise unto the Lord of all the Worlds.<sup>2</sup>

اللَّيْكُ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّا لَقَيْنَا الْمَادِقِينَ وَقَدْ اسْتَظْهَرُوا عَلَيْنَا بِالْمُشْرِكِينَ فَقَتَلْنَاهُمْ قَتْلَ عَادَ وَأَدَمَ مَعَ اثْنَا لَمْ نَعْدُ فِيهِمْ سِيرْتَكَ وَلَمْ نَقْتُلْ مِنَ الْمَادِقِينَ مَدِيرًا وَلَا سِيرًا وَلَمْ نَذْفُفْ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى جَرِيعٍ وَقَدْ نَصَرَكَ اللَّهُ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

Their dead are to be buried.<sup>3</sup> Their prisoners are generally not to be beheaded, and if they convincingly promise to behave in future like loyal and law-abiding subjects, they ought even to be immediately released.<sup>4</sup> No ransom may be demanded for the release of prisoners.<sup>5</sup> Rebel prisoners, Muslims or non-Muslims, may never be enslaved.<sup>6</sup> The army of 'Aliy clamoured for the enslavement of their prisoners, and 'Aliy bluntly reminded them:<sup>7</sup> Well, then who will take 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet and the Mother of the Faithful?—She was the leader of an army against 'Aliy, and at the time was under his guards.

The servants and followers of their camp may only be killed in battle if they take part in actual combat.<sup>8</sup>

As the killing of a Muslim by the hands of a non-Muslim is religiously not allowed, it is inadvisable to enlist non-Muslims in a campaign against Muslim rebels.<sup>9</sup>

أَوْ إِذَا قَاتَلُنَّ قُتِلُنَّ لِلْدِفْعِ (وَإِذَا قَاتَلَنَّ قُتِلَنَّ لِلْدِفْعِ).<sup>10</sup>

#### (e) *Miscellanea.*

If the rebels attack a country friendly to the Muslim state, and acquire booty which is afterwards captured by the loyal troops from the hands of the rebels, it must be returned to the original owners.<sup>8</sup> The loyal subjects of the Muslim state in the rebel territory may join forces with the rebels against a non-Muslim foreign attack.<sup>9</sup> If the rebels co-operate with the

1. "Amalekite" is a graphic translation. Allusion to a saying of the Prophet recorded both by *Bukhāriy* and *Muslim*, and quoted by *Ibn-Taimiyah*, *as-Siyāsah ash-Shar'iyyah*, p. 25, 60 : يَعْرُفُونَ .. . لَئِنْ أَدْرَكْنَاهُمْ قَتْلَ عَادَ .

2. *Yūsuf al-Andalusiy*, *op. cit.*, fol. 12b.

3. *Shaibāniy*, ch. الاصل الخوارج و اهل البغي

4. *Māwardiy*, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

5. *Shaibāniy*, *op. cit.*, etc.

6. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 127.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Shaibāniy*, الاصل , ch. *ibid.*

9. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 98, 133-34.

10. *Idem*, p. 130.

loyal troop in a fight against a common enemy, they share in the booty with the loyal troop.<sup>1</sup> Although the non-Muslim soldiers of the Muslim army ordinarily do not *share* in the war-booty along with Muslim soldiers, but are given only a prize approximate to their labours, *ash-Shaibāniy*, in a stray passage, opines that if they form in themselves a strong force sufficient to act independently, or the Muslim army is not strong enough without them, then they also *share* the booty in common.<sup>2</sup> If hostages are exchanged, and the rebels murder the loyal hostages, the rebel hostages may not be punished even when that had been agreed upon, for the guilt is not theirs personally but of their government.<sup>3</sup> The captured property of rebel which cannot be made booty, may yet be sold for convenience's sake, and the proceeds returned to rightful owners at the cessation of hostilities.<sup>4</sup>

(f) *Deposition of the Muslim Ruler.*

A passing reference may be made in this connexion to the possibility of deposition of a Muslim ruler by the Pillars of the State if he has become unbearably tyrannical or otherwise incapable of discharging his duties, e.g., because of insanity, capture by an enemy, etc. (cf. *k. al imārah* in any law book).

In general, Muslims are exhorted in the Qur'ān<sup>5</sup> and in the Hadīth<sup>6</sup> always to obey the authorities. In an oft-quoted tradition,<sup>7</sup> the Prophet has observed : " Everyone of you is a shepherd and everyone of you is responsible for those under his care. So the ruler is a shepherd and is responsible for his subjects ; a man is a shpherd and is responsible for his family ; a woman is a shepherdess and is responsible for the house of her husband ; a servant is a shepherd and is responsible for the property of his master ; a boy is a shepherd and is responsible for the property of his father—in fact everyone of you is a shepherd and is responsible for those in his care."<sup>8</sup> Yet this responsiblity is before God in the next world. People are exhorted to obey even tyrants ; and in a characteristic tradition, the Prophet is reported to have said : " If the ruler is just, he will get his reward and you ought to be grateful ; if the ruler is a tyrant, he will get his punishment and you ought to have patience."<sup>9</sup> No wonder that in

1. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, p. 130.

2. *Shaibāniy*, *op. cit.*

3. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 129, quoting Qur'ān, 6 : 164, also decision of Abū-Hanifah acquiesced in by Caliph Maṇṣūr, regarding hostages of a non-Muslim state, applying pre-eminently to Muslim rebels.

4. *Sarakhsiy* and others *in loco*.

5. 4 : 59. Cf. my "Quranic Conception of State," in *The Quranic World*, Hyderabad, April 1936.

6. *Tabwīb* of 'Aliy al-Muttaqī (my private MS.), ch. *Kitāb al-umara*.

7. 'Aliy al-Muttaqī quoting in his *Tabwīb* on the authority of *Bukhāriy*, Muslim, Abū-Dawūd, *Tirmidhiy*, Ibn-Hanbal, *Tabarāniy* and others.

8. Score of other sayings of the Prophet are recorded by Hadīth-books, brought together in *Kanzul-'ummāl*, etc.

9. *Abū-Yūsuf*, *Kharāj*, p. 6 ; Ibn-Qutaibah, 'Uyūn-al-akhbār, I, 3, etc.

spite of all this the Prophet has unequivocally said : "No obedience to any creature in disobedience to the Creator."<sup>1</sup> It is quite in harmony with the fundamental principle of the Muslim polity that God is the real sovereign of the world, and that man is only His vicegerent.

(g) *Non-Muslim Rebels.*

So far we have discussed briefly the position of Muslims as rebels. Some peculiarities of non-Muslim subjects, when they rebel, may be profitably added.

Rebellion by purely non-Muslim subjects will be treated as rebellion only in case their territory is surrounded on all sides by the Muslim state. Non-Muslim rebels of a province fronting non-Muslim territory are placed by Muslim jurists in the same position as ordinary non-Muslim belligerents.<sup>2</sup> The reason is, as we have seen before, that all non-Muslim peoples form one category for Muslim jurists, no matter whether politically they constitute one or several groups. In case of rebels of a frontier province, the supposition is that they may have relations with the adjoining non-Muslim state.

Non-Muslim subjects will, however, receive the same privileges as ordinary rebels, in spite of their being of a frontier province, when they are not the leaders of the rebellion but only join hands with the local Muslim rebels.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII

### *International Highwaymen and Pirates*

IN early Islamic literature there is scarcely any separate mention of pirates. Ibn-Sa'd<sup>4</sup> mentions one piratical incident of Abyssinians in the time of the Prophet, the details of which are lacking. Generally pirates are included in highwaymen. As Tabariy<sup>5</sup> says, there is no difference between the highwaymen of the country or foreigners, so far as their treatment is concerned. Of course, we are concerned here only with the case of international pirates and highwaymen.

Nearly all the details of the treatment accorded to them are deduced from or based upon the following verses of the Qur'an, which were

1. *Tabwib* of 'Aliy-al-Muttaqi, from Ibn-Hanbal, Tirmidhiy, Abū-Dāwūd, etc.

2. *Fatāwi Tātūrkhanīyah*, ch. Rebels.

3. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 128.

4. *Tabaqāt*, 2/1, p. 17-18.

5. *Tafsīr*, VI, 135.

originally revealed, it is said,<sup>1</sup> regarding some international brigands and highwaymen (of a country allied to the Muslim state) :—

The only reward of those who make war upon God and His Messenger and strive after discord in the land, will be that they will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or will be banished from the land. Such will be their degradation in the world, and in the Hereafter theirs will be an awful doom ; save those who repent before ye overpower them. For know that God is Forgiving, Merciful. (5 : 33-34).

By the unanimity of commentators on the Qur'ān, the warring people referred to in the verses are highwaymen, dacoits and the like. According to law-books, their treatment is :

1. For murder accompanied by plunder, beheading followed by crucifixion.
2. For murder only, beheading.
3. For plunder only without loss to life, the amputation of hand and foot on alternate sides.
4. For only banding together with the intent of plunder and murder, but having as yet committed nothing of the kind, discretionary punishment may be inflicted.

The banishment mentioned above is one of the discretionary punishments. It is interpreted either as imprisonment, expulsion from the State, externment, or confinement to a border district with all its hazards. However, expulsion from the state is never upheld if the culprits are of the Muslim faith, lest they apostatise or join forces against the Muslim state.<sup>2</sup>

If subjects of a Muslim state commit highway robbery in a foreign country even against Muslim subjects, their case may not be heard in a Muslim court<sup>3</sup> though they may be extradited if there is treaty to that effect. On the other hand, if foreigners enter Muslim territory and commit depredation on passers-by, their case may be heard in the Muslim court.<sup>4</sup> In a learned discussion, Ibn-Taimiyah<sup>5</sup> says that even if the highwayman is superior in status to the murdered person,—if, for example, he is a Muslim, a free man or a Muslim subject, and the murdered person is a non-Muslim, a slave or a foreigner residing in the Muslim territory—the murderer must be sentenced to death. Citing a precedent, Ibn-Taimiyah refers to the fact that the Caliph 'Umar inflicted capital punishment upon the watchman of a gang of highwaymen.

1. *Tafsīr*, VI, p. 132-33 ; *Aṣl* of *Shaibāniy* (MS. Wafā-'Atīf, Istanbul), Vol. II, fol. 40a, ch. قطع الطريق.
- Cf. *Mabsūt* of *Sarakhsiy*, IX, 134.
2. *Māwardiy*, *op. cit.*, p. 102-06 ; *Kasāniy*, *Badā'i'*, VII, 94-95 ; *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, IX, 135.
3. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūt*, IX, 203-04, *Aṣl* of *Shaibāniy*, ch. قطع الطريق, fol. 41a.
4. *Shaibāniy*, *Aṣl*, ch. قطع الطريق (MS. Wafā-'Atīf), fol. 40a.
5. *الباسترة المشربة*, p. 36-37.

*Special Features of their Treatment.*

Generally speaking, the treatment of highwaymen is the same as that of rebels. Yet the following differences<sup>1</sup> may be noted :—

1. They, unlike rebels, may be pursued in every case.
2. The aim of the expedition must be to exterminate them.
3. They are held responsible for every act of theirs, whether committed before the encounter with them or during the fight with government forces itself.
4. Pending result of investigation, they may be detained in prison.
5. The taxes collected by them will be considered as mere usurpation and the tax-payer may again be taxed. Obviously he will have a right to the property recovered from the possession of the highwaymen.

As the Qur'ānic verse quoted above enjoins, if individually or *en masse* the gang submits itself to the authorities before Government can lay hands on them, and gives assurance of repentance and future good behaviour, the members may be pardoned. In this case, no action may be brought against them for their past crimes against life and property.

## CHAPTER IX

### *War with non-Muslim Foreigners*

WAR is defined by Muslim jurists as the expending of ability and power in fighting in the path of God by means of life, property, tongue and other than these.<sup>2</sup> And to realise this, Muslim doctors enjoin: "First to preserve one's own power and then to break that of the unbelievers and to subjugate them."<sup>3</sup> As war to Islam does not allow any self-seeking aggrandisement at the expense of others, but simply to establish a theocracy on earth, no wonder at the insistence upon the point of view of the soldiery being quite selfless. The slightest desire for worldly gain pollutes the purity and mars the nobleness of *jihād*. *Jihād* is to be waged solely for the purpose that "the word of God shall alone prevail" (من قاتل ) (لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا).<sup>4</sup> Otherwise Paradise would not be the reward of such a soldier.

1. Māwardiy, op. cit., p. 104-05.

2. Cf. *supra* ch. 3, "definition of war."

3. Sarakhsiy, 1, 127, مرح السير الكبير (شوكفهم).

4. Bukhāriy, 3 : 45, 55 : 10, 57 : 8 and 10, 97 : 28 ; Muslim, 33 : 149-151 ; Tirmidhiy, 20 : 16, Nasā'iy. 25 : 21, Ibn-Mājah, 24 : 13, Tayalisiy, No. 486-8 ; Ibn-Hanbal, IV, 392, 397, 401, 405, 417 bis. Cf, Qur'ān, 9 : 40, 8 : 39, 5 : 54.

## CHAPTER X

*Declaration of War*

IN a defensive or punitive war, obviously, there is no need of declaration or notification to the other party of the military action. When otherwise, Muslim jurists<sup>1</sup> hold :—

When Muslims encounter unbelievers to whom Islam is an unknown thing, Muslims must not attack before inviting them to accept 'the Unity of God' as an article of faith, or to agree to pay the protection tax (*jizyah*)—unless they belong to a nation from whom it is not accepted and who have to choose between Islam and the sword —(this refers to all apostates and idolators of the Arabian Peninsula regarding whom the Qur'an lays down : "Fight them unless they embrace Islam")—and if they are fought against and blood is shed, no previous warning having been given, the Shāfi'i school of thought holds that the Muslim state has to pay for each human life, destroyed in the fight, as much blood-money as is prescribed for a Muslim killed unintentionally. The Hanafite school, however, leaves the blood of such unbelievers with impunity. But if such a nation understands fully what Islam means, warning and excuse may again be made —though this is not compulsory. For they know why they are attacked, and an ultimatum may hinder the achieving of the aim. With this kind of people, however, the Muslim state may fight without first inviting them to accept Islam or pay protection tax.

Instructions of the Prophet are quoted to support this view.<sup>2</sup> Upon careful scrutiny, however, the above exposition of law does not seem to apply except to cases of individual encounters between bands of two belligerent states. The main question of the general declaration of war upon the enemy government does not seem to have been settled. For this also we may refer to the practice of the Prophet, that safe and perennial source of Muslim law. So, in three kinds of cases, the Prophet seems to have waged war without previous notice :

1. Fresh encounters of an enemy with whom no peace is made, though the forces of the two parties separated from each other from time to time. The expeditions against the Meccans are an instance.
2. Preventive war (against the threatened aggression of a foreign state with whom no treaty relations exist). The wars of Banū'l-Muṣṭaliq, Khaibar, Hunain are all of this kind.
3. Punitive and Retaliatory war (to punish a state for a breach of treaty). The attack on Banū-Qainuqā', Banū-Quraizah, Mecca, etc. are instances thereof.

1. Sarakhsiy, شرح المسير الكبير, I, 57-58.

2. For instance *Sahih* of Muslim (ed. Istanbul), V. 139-40.

In all other cases, previous declaration is necessary, and especially so against the threatened violation of treaty by a state with whom treaty relations exist. So the Qur'ān lays down :

And if thou fearest treachery from any folk, then throw back to them (their treaty) on a par. Lo ! God loveth not the treacherous. (8 : 58).

And as-Sarakhsīy comments on this verse in the following terms :

*On a par*, that is, you and they are on a par with regard to knowledge. And thus we learn that it is not permissible to fight them before throwing back (the treaty) and before their knowing that.<sup>1</sup>

Further discussion will be found in a subsequent chapter on truce and armistice.

## CHAPTER XI

### *Effects of the Declaration of War*

PROBABLY due to the practice prevalent in the time of classical jurists in countries adjoining Muslim territory, all enemy persons and property were considered as in a state of War. Although treatment differs from category to category, as we shall see in due course, no one can claim complete immunity. Every able-bodied man<sup>2</sup> was considered a potential combatant, and even women and children could be taken prisoner.

#### 1. General Effects.

Obviously all friendly relations come to an end between the belligerent states as well as their subjects. Envoys are recalled. The public forces of the state get the right to fight the enemy and inflict damage according to their laws of war. Officials and private citizens, all are prohibited from giving the enemy any help, comfort or information. The case of Hātib,<sup>3</sup> who attempted to send information to the enemy regarding Muslim designs, and the consequent trial, form a classical example of the time of the Prophet. The constitution<sup>4</sup> of the city-state of Madinah during the early years of Hijrah also enjoins the same thing (vide § 20, 43). The Qur'ān also clearly lays down : " Let them find you rigorous "<sup>5</sup> and again : " Be rigorous with them."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless it is characteristic of the

1. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 87.

2. See *supra* chapter XIII, 2.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 809-10; Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1626-27.

4. For text, see Ibn-Hishām, p. 341-44 or my *Corpus*.

5. Qur'ān, 9 : 123.

6. *Ibidem* 9 : 73.

Qur'ānic teaching to emphasise the following regarding the Quraish, the bitterest of the enemies of Islam at the time :

"....And let not your hatred of a folk who (once) stopped your going to the Inviolable Place of Worship (i.e., Ka'bah in Mecca), seduce you to transgress ; but help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty. Help not one another unto sin and transgression, but fear God. Lo ! God is severe in punishment." (5 : 2).

Far from banning all co-operation with the enemy, this Qur'ānic command urges that co-operation must be made regarding charitable and pious matters. Commentators of this verse refer to cases which were the occasion of the revelation of this command, cases in which Muslims were justified in taking counter-measures against their enemy but were prevented on humanitarian grounds.

## 2. Effects on Commercial Relations.

I have not been able to find much material on this important subject in the compendia of Muslim law. A few cases of classical times may, therefore, be profitably quoted.

(a) Sa'd-ibn-Mu'ādh says that he was a friend of Umaiyyah-ibn-Khalaf alias Abū-Safwān. If Umaiyyah passed through Madīnah, he stayed with Sa'd, and if Sa'd passed through Mecca, he stayed with Umaiyyah. When the Prophet came to Madīnah, Sa'd went to Mecca for the 'Umrah-pilgrimage and stayed with Umaiyyah, and told him to find some suitable hour for accomplishing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah. So they went out at about noon. Abū-Jahl met them, and asked Umaiyyah : O Abū-Safwān, who is this with thee ? He said : Sa'd. Then Abū-Jahl turned to him and said : Don't I see thee circumambulating with peace in Mecca in spite of the fact that ye have given asylum to innovators (i.e., Muslims) and pretend that ye will help them and aid them. By God, hadst thou not been with Abū-Safwān, thou wouldest not have returned to thy people in safety. Sa'd loudly retorted : By God, if thou preventest this, then I shall prevent thee in what is much worse for thee : thy passage through the people of Madīnah.<sup>1</sup>

(b) 'Abd-ar-Rahmān-ibn-'Awf says : I concluded a pact with Umaiyyah-ibn-Khalaf in order that he might protect my belongings in Mecca and I protect his belongings in Madīnah. When I wrote my name " 'Abd-ar-Rahmān, " he said : I do not know this, but write thy pre-Islamic name. So I signed " 'Abd-Amr. " When it was the day of Badr.....<sup>2</sup>

Both these cases refer to very early days of Hijrah, before the battle of Badr, which occurred in the year 2 H. Therefore not much im-

1. *Bukhāriy*, 64 : 2 (ch. Wikālah).

2. *Idem*, 40 : 2 (ch. Maghāzi).

portance must attach to them, the more so on account of the fact that there is no evidence of their having happened with the knowledge and approbation of the Prophet.

(c) Thumāmah-ibn-Uthāl was a chieftain of Yamāmah. Early in the year 6 H., he was taken prisoner by a Muslim detachment, and brought to Madinah. Here the gentle treatment of the Prophet impressed him so much that he embraced Islam. On return journey, he passed through Mecca and heard some abusive cuts on his conversion. He said : Not a grain of Yamāmah can now be imported into your city, unless the Prophet directs otherwise. A famine is said consequently to have ensued in Mecca. The Meccans were constrained humbly to beseech the Prophet to lift the ban, which he graciously did.<sup>1</sup>—Although many details of this case lie in darkness, it is sufficient for us to conclude that it all depends upon a government to direct its subjects whether and how far they may trade with an enemy.

(d) The Prophet himself once sent a quantity of the dates of Madinah to the Meccan magnate, Abū-Sufyān, and required in return hides. This is said to have occurred at a time when hostilities were continuing between Mecca and Madinah.<sup>2</sup>—This further strengthens our conclusion that it all depended upon state policy what things were to be declared contraband of war and trade, and which not.

### 3. Effects on Trusts and Debts.

Although international credit of 1300 years ago can scarcely be compared with modern magnitudes, still we may be guided by a few classical cases and provisions of positive law in general terms.

(a) When the excesses of the Meccans had reached their climax, and they had actually plotted against the life of the Prophet and consequently he left Mecca to seek safety in Madinah, he bade his cousin, 'Aliy, to return all that was entrusted to the Prophet by his infidel and actually belligerent co-citizens.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that the Meccans could be considered at that time as belligerents.<sup>4</sup> We do not think the action of the Prophet would have been different at the height of his power.

(b) During the war of Khaibar, the Prophet ordered Aswad, a slave of a Khaibarite Jew, who had come to embrace Islam along with all the sheep and goats of his master which he tended as a shepherd :

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 997-8 ; Ibn-'Abd-al-Barr, No. 278 ; Ibn-Hajar, Isābah, No. 961 ; *Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, II, 3 ; cf. Ibn-Sa'd, V, 401.

2. Sarakhsī, 1, 70 ; Idem, X, 92.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 334 ; Ibn-Sa'd, 3/1, p. 13 ; Mas'ūdiy, *at-Tanbih*, p. 233.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 323-24 : also p. 296 for provision in the pact of 'Aqabah ; cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/1, p. 148-50 : نبیوْه علی سرنا .

Go to a safe distance and then frighten the herd so that it takes its usual way home to its master.<sup>1</sup>

(c) During the reign of the Caliph 'Umar, Hims was occupied by Muslim troops and the usual taxes were levied and collected from the inhabitants. Later, military exigencies required the evacuation of the city. Thereupon the Muslim commander ordered all taxes to be returned to the inhabitants, saying : We promised to protect you. Since we can no longer do that, we have no right to your payments.<sup>2</sup>

The Qur'ân commands :

i. Lo ! God commandeth you that ye restore deposits to their owners, and if ye judge between mankind, that ye judge justly. (4 : 58).

ii. .... And if one of you entrusteth to another, let him who is trusted deliver up that which is entrusted to him and let him fear God. (2 : 283).

In the sayings of the Prophet we find :

i. The sword erases all obligations except the debt<sup>3</sup> (السيف يماء للذنوب الا الدين).

ii. Whoever is entrusted with a deposit, let him deliver it up to the one who entrusted it to him.<sup>4</sup>

No doubt responsibilities and obligations may be renounced on the ground of retaliation,<sup>5</sup> yet one's burden should not be placed upon another who is innocent.<sup>6</sup>

However, it has not been possible for me to trace any precise practice regarding the subject during the later Muslim Empires.

#### 4. Effects on Treaties.

Scarcely any book on Muslim law or politics discusses the theoretical aspect of this question. Yet it is obvious that mere declaration of war cannot affect all the treaties that were concluded between the parties at war with each other.

Treaties which have achieved their aim, for instance the fixing of boundaries and the like, are not affected by mere declaration of war. We

1. لا كناء في مجازي المصطفى by al-Kilâ'iy, fol. 75b of Berlin MS.; Ibn-Hishâm, p. 769-70.

2. Abû-Yüsuf, *Kharâj*, p. 81, *Balâdhuriy*, *Futûh*, 173, Azdiy, *Futûh*, p. 137-8, De Geoje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 2nd. ed., p. 103-4.

3. Sarakhsiy, I, 20.

4. Occurring in the oration of the last Pilgrimage, text in my *الوثائق السياسية* on the authority of Ibn-Hishâm, Tabariy, Ya'qûbiy and the *بيان والبيان* of Jâihz.

5. Qur'ân, 16 : 12, 1 : 38, 40 : 40, 42, 40, 6 : 161 ; etc.

6. Qur'ân, 6 : 165, etc. (ولا تزد وزرة وزرًا خرى).

are not concerned here with changes that the war under discussion may bring out regarding questions previously settled.

On the other hand, treaties of friendship and good-neighbourliness, alliance and mutual assistance and the like, are rendered null and void if such contracting parties choose to declare war upon each other.

Apart from these two obvious kinds, there are treaties which remain suspended during friendship and are enforced only when hostilities involve the contracting parties in battle. This refers to treaties for mutual conduct during war. Such treaties are old enough to be mentioned by ash-Shaibāniy<sup>1</sup> who gives many fictitious cases of such treaties regarding the treatment of prisoners of war, cutting off of the water-supply, devastation of occupied or evacuated country and the like.

There are treaties which are individually disposed of at discretion : they are cancelled, suspended or modified. This refers to treaties of trade and commerce, import duties and the like.<sup>2</sup>

In modern times there are treaties which though suspended during a war, automatically revive at the conclusion of peace if the ex-belligerents retain their independence. Such are treaties for the exchange of post and telegrams and similar things.

So far we have referred to bilateral pacts. Multilateral treaties give greater complexity to the problem when some of the parties remain neutral and others join the conflict on one or the other side. There may even be cases when, neutrals apart, all the remaining parties of a former treaty join a war *en bloc* against a country alien to the treaty in question.

Obviously the nature of the convention or the contents of the treaties constitute the decisive factor. We possess no data to rely upon except a few cases of the Orthodox Practice.

The classical treaties require an exhaustive study. Here I content myself with the citation of a few cases of the time of the Prophet.

(a) When the Prophet migrated to Madīnah he found there chaos and anarchy. It was he who constituted<sup>3</sup> a city-state there on a loose confederal basis. The Meccan refugees formed one unit ; Arab tribes of Madīnah consisting of Muslim and non-Muslim clans all joined individually ; and the Jewish tribes also entered the federation, each tribe forming a separate entity. The internecine feuds among Jews as well as Arabs of Madīnah had not yet welded them into solid blocks, and in fact in pre-Islamic days some Arab tribes had allied themselves with some Jewish ones in order to secure themselves against another block of Arab and Jewish tribes all living within the precincts of a valley about fifteen miles long and as wide. Apparently this separate and individual adherence to the confederation was the reason why the pact remained intact even when some Jewish tribes came to war with the Muslims of

1. Cf. Sarakhsiy, بُرَجُ السَّيْرِ الْكَبِيرِ, I, 200-05.

2. Cf. *supra*, "Effect on Commercial Relations."

3. Text of the constitution in Ibn-Hishām, p. 341-44, etc.

the city-state. This refers to the clans of Qainuqā'.<sup>1</sup> Later still, when other Jewish tribes came into bloody conflict with the Muslim, the other Jews of the city either remained neutral or even helped the Muslims against their co-religionists.<sup>2</sup> After the expulsion of certain Jewish tribes from Madinah, the Prophet demanded of some of the remaining Jews, on the ground of this very pact which constituted Madinah into a city-state, to participate in contributing towards the payment of the blood-money for a certain case of homicide.<sup>3</sup>

(b) Another case of a multilateral treaty in the time of the Prophet is the famous one of Ḥudaibiyah<sup>4</sup> between Mecca and Madinah to which some tribes had adhered on either side. When the Meccans once molested the tribe adhering to the Muslim side, the whole pact of non-aggression and trade-facilities was considered by the Muslims null and void.

How to conclude, amend or annul the treaties will be dealt with later.

## CHAPTER XII

### *Treatment of Enemy Persons*

AT the outbreak of a war, enemy persons might be found either in Islamic territory, having come there by permission previously, or in their own territory, or in the war zone. Treatment of these different categories differs considerably.

#### 1. *Enemy Resident Aliens.*

By *Musta'min* in Muslim legal terminology one means a person who temporarily resides in a foreign country, by its permission. There are, in Arabic, no different terms which distinguish between a Muslim going to non-Muslim territory and a non-Muslim coming to Muslim territory, nor even between a subject of an allied state (who is otherwise called *Muwādi'*, but for the purpose of this Chapter he is also a *Musta'min*) or unallied or even belligerent state. All are alike called *Musta'min* which literally means one who seeks protection.

Such a foreign resident in Muslim territory is as safe at the outbreak of war between his state and the Muslim state as before.<sup>5</sup> According to the terms of the passport he might return home whenever he liked; he might even take with him all his property. Contraband is certainly

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 545-46; my *La Diplomatic Musulmane*, I, 26.

2. Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, X, 23.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 652, Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 40-41, Tabarīy, I, 1449-50.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 747-48 and my *Corpus*.

5. Kāsāniy, حِلْمَانِيَّ, VII, 107, ll 15-16.

excepted yet anything he had actually brought with him he might take back.<sup>1</sup> Newly bought contraband of war has to be sold or otherwise disposed of in Muslim territory itself. Generally a resident alien can go from Muslim territory in whichever direction he chooses, yet a big detachment of them would not be allowed to go to some other country which is at war with the Muslim state when it is feared that they would join forces there against the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> They can, however, return to their own country unmolested even when it is at war with the Muslim state.<sup>3</sup> For to detain them would be violation of pledge. If a *musta'min* acts as a spy, he forfeits his immunity. This also happens if a *Musta'min* of a belligerent state becomes an ordinary belligerent immediately after leaving Islamic territory, and his immunity that he enjoyed during his stay in the Muslim territory comes to an end.

## 2. *Enemy at Home.*

Enemy persons living in their homes have to suffer the severities of siege and other incidents of war. When their town is conquered and occupied by Muslim forces, their treatment depends on the terms of surrender and capitulation or general proclamation by the officer commanding. Other details will follow.

## 3. *Enemy in the War Zone.*

In the actual war zone not only the enemy combatants but even others could not claim absolute security. Of course, Muslim soldiers have to take care that they do not fire directly on neutrals, women and minors and other non-combatants, yet if any damage is done to them unintentionally, no responsibility is to be placed on the Muslim army.

As far as war is concerned, no distinction is made between an enemy subject and foreign allies taking part in the fight. But distinction is made between able-bodied combatants and followers of the army, contractors, traders, physicians, reporters and others who do not take part in actual fighting. The wives and children of enemy combatants also share some of the severities of war, as will be described below.

1. Saraskhiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 91-92.

ولو ان قوّاً من اهل المغرب دخلوا اليها بامان ثم ارادوا ان يخرجوا الى دار حرب اخرى يكونوا معهم يقاتلون اهل الاسلام فلا ينفي المسلمين ان ينكحهم من ذلك وان كان الداخل واحدا او اثنين لم يمنع من الرجوع الى دار حرب اخرى للتجارة معهم لأن بهذا القدر لا يزداد قوّة اهل هذه الدار على قاتلها بخلاف ما اذا كانوا اهل ملة .

3. Kāsāniy, etc., *in loco*.

## CHAPTER XIII

*Acts Forbidden*

IN actual fight the following acts are forbidden to a Muslim army as regards enemy person and property.

1. Unnecessarily cruel and torturous ways of killing. The Prophet has said in this connexion : " Fairness is prescribed by God in every matter ; so if you kill, kill in a fair way."<sup>1</sup>

2. Killing non-combatants.<sup>2</sup> Combatants are only those who are physically capable of fighting (القاتلة من له بنية صالحة للقتال).<sup>3</sup> Women,<sup>4</sup> minors,<sup>4</sup> servants and slaves who accompany their masters yet do not take part in actual fighting,<sup>5</sup> the blind,<sup>6</sup> monks,<sup>7</sup> hermits,<sup>8</sup> the very old,<sup>9</sup> those physically incapable of fighting,<sup>10</sup> the insane or delirious<sup>11</sup>—these are authoritative examples thereof.

3. Prisoners of war are not to be decapitated.<sup>12</sup> Details of their treatment will be given in a separate chapter.

4. Mutilation of men as well as beasts.<sup>13</sup>

5. Treachery and perfidy.<sup>14</sup>

6. Devastation, destruction of harvest, cutting trees unnecessarily.<sup>15</sup>

7. Slaughtering animals more than what is necessary for food.<sup>16</sup>

8. Excess and wickedness.<sup>17</sup>

9. Adultery even with captive women. As regards a free enemy woman, the violator is to be stoned to death or whipped according to

1. *Sahih* of Muslim, (ed. Istanbul), VI, 72.

2. *Mabsüt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 64.

3. شرح السير الكبير.

4. Idem, I, 59, 34. Exceptions in special cases, المحظ البرهانى, III, ch. V, p. 266, on the authority of Shaibāniy.

5. شرح السير الكبير, IV, 79-80.

6. *Mabsüt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 69.

7. شرح السير الكبير.

8. Idem, III, 190.

9. *Mabsüt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 6.

10. Idem, p. 69.

11. *Mabsüt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 69.

12. Cf. *infra*, ch. 15.

13. شرح السير الكبير, I, 78, *Tirmidhiy*, 19 : 48, *Abū-Dāwūd*, 15 : 110.

14. 'Abd-al-Jalil, *Shu'ab al-imān*, p. 558, ch. *Wafā' al-'ahd ma'a al-mushrikin* (MS. Bashir Āghā, Istanbul, No. 366), sayings of the Prophet collected together. Cf. *Qur'an*, 17 : 34, etc.

15. شرح السير الكبير, I, 27, 34; *Qur'an*, 2 : 205.

16. شرح السير الكبير, I, 36.

17. Idem, I, 37.

whether he is married or unmarried. If, however, she is a captive, he is to receive discretionary punishment and to be fined as much as a مهر مثل (i.e., what his nearest female relatives would have received as bride-money) which would be added to the general booty.<sup>1</sup>

10. Killing enemy hostages, even if those of the Muslim state have been murdered by the enemy, and even if there is express agreement that hostages may be beheaded in retaliation.<sup>2</sup>

11. Severing the head of some fallen enemy and sending it to higher Muslim authorities is regarded as improper and disliked (مكره). The first Caliph issued orders forbidding it.<sup>3</sup>

12. There is no instance in the time of the Prophet when a massacre was allowed after vanquishing the enemy or otherwise occupying a place. The conquest of Mecca provides a fine example. After all those innumerable physical tortures and proprietary damages which the Muslims had received at the hands of their Meccan enemy, when the Prophet conquered the city, he declared a general amnesty excluding expressly about half a dozen named persons, who were declared outlaws to be killed wherever found. They were state criminals having committed murder and apostasy or similar offences. Later these also were pardoned, except three who were killed by Muslim soldiers without referring again to the Prophet.<sup>4</sup>

13. Killing parents, except in absolute self-defence, even if they are non-Muslims and in the enemy ranks. There are more cases than one in which the Prophet forbade persons who had asked for permission to kill their non-Muslim parents on ground of hostility to Islam.<sup>5</sup>

14. Killing peasants when they do not fight and the result of war is indifferent to them.<sup>6</sup>

15. Traders, merchants, contractors and the like are to be spared if they do not take part in actual fighting.<sup>7</sup>

16. Burning a captured man or animal to death. Once the Prophet despatched a band with the instruction to arrest a culprit and burn him alive; but he immediately recalled them and ordered them not to burn the criminal, but simply to kill him; for, he said, only the Lord of Fire can punish with fire.<sup>8</sup>

1. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

2. Idem, p. 84, *Mabsūt of Sarakhsiy*, X, 129.

3. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 131; شرح السير الكبير, I, 78.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 818-19; Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1639ff.

5. شرح السير الكبير, I, 75-76, III, 192, 183.

6. Idem, IV, 79; for order and practice of Abū-Bakr, cf. Tabariy, I, 2026, 2031; for 'Umar cf. Ibn-Rushd, I, 311, *Kharāj of Yahyā-ibn-Ādam* (ed. Brill), p. 34.

7. *Kharāj of Yahyā*, p. 34; cf. *Kharāj of Abū-Yūsuf*, p. 122 for similar kind of non-fighting followers in Muslim army.

8. Tirmidhiy, II, 298, ch. III, 214; Bukhāriy, 55: 149; Ibn-Hishām, pp. 468-9.

17. It appears that in classical times of Islam, it was a prevalent practice among non-Muslims to take shelter behind enemy prisoners.<sup>1</sup> I have not found a single instance where Muslims were accused of this cowardly act or when they forced their prisoners to fight against their own nation.

18. The Mālikite jurist, Khalil, expressly says that poisonous arrows are unlawful (نَبِلٌ سَمْ حَرَامٌ).<sup>2</sup> Jurists of other schools have not referred to the subject, so far as I know, owing apparently to non-employment of similar weapons by enemies in the countries where they lived.

19. Acts forbidden under treaties. Many fictitious cases of this kind are mentioned by ash-Shaibāniy,<sup>3</sup> which shows that it was common practice in those days to agree what not to do in the conduct of war regarding prisoners, devastation, cutting off the water-supply and the like.

It is to be noted that acts prohibited under treaties are forbidden only so long as the treaties last.<sup>4</sup> Other prohibited acts form part of the injunctions of positive Muslim law, and they cannot become allowable even in reprisal; the immediate criminals and not their countrymen are to be considered responsible.<sup>5</sup> Muslims are not allowed to hold slogans similar to : "We are not bound to keep faith with the Gentiles,"<sup>6</sup> enunciated, according to the Qur'ān, by Jews and reiterated by Papal bulls during the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup>

A selection of Instructions to Commanders, issued by the Prophet and later Caliphs, will be found in an appendix at the end of this monograph.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *Quarter*

QUARTER, which is based upon a Qur'ānic verse (: "And if anyone of the Associators seeketh thy protection [O Muḥammad], then protect him so that he may hear the word of God, and afterwards convey him to his place of safety")<sup>8</sup>), is defined by jurists as :

1. Cf. Abū-Ya'lā , الْحُكَمُ الْسُّلطَانِيَّةُ , p. 25 (MS. Istanbul and Damascus). The expression ترس باسادى is met with frequently.

2. مختصر خليل , ch. Jihād; cf. however, *infra*, XVII, Note 2.

3. شرح السير الكبير , I, 200-05.

4. شرح ( a Hadīth quoted by ) , المُسْلِمُونَ عَنْ دُشْرِ وَ طَهْمَ , (Qur'ān, 9 : 7) , فَمَا اسْتَقَمُوا لَكُمْ فَأَسْتَقِمُ أَنَا لَهُمْ , السير الكبير , I, 185.

5. Qur'ān, 6 : 164, 17 : 15, 35 : 18, 49 : 7, 53 : 38.

6. Qur'ān, 3 : 75.

7. Cf. *supra*, Part I, Ch. X, paragraph 9.

8. Qur'ān, 9 : 6.

Quarter means the practice of restraining from opposing them (*i.e.*, the belligerents) through killing or capturing, for the sake of God.<sup>1</sup>

Quarter might be granted to enemy persons when they solicit it individually or *en masse*. If surrender is unconditional, they become prisoners of war, and their property booty. This occurs generally when they are besieged, or fought in the open and reduced to great straits. In a conditional surrender, capitulation as it is termed, if conditions were accepted by the conqueror, those conditions must be faithfully observed, and Muslims must abide by their conditions<sup>2</sup> (والمسلمون عند شروطهم).

Quarter might also be granted to enemy persons without their soliciting it, through a general proclamation. So at the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet made it known that all those persons were safe who entered the court of Ka'bah or the house of their chief Abū-Sufyān, or who shut up the doors of their houses,<sup>3</sup> or laid down their arms.<sup>4</sup> From this general amnesty a few were specifically excepted for their non-military offences.

The modes and expressions of quarter are discussed in great detail by Muslim jurists,<sup>5</sup> which shows the great importance they attach to the fulfilling of terms accepted in good faith.

According to an oft-quoted *Hadīth* of the Prophet, even the lowest of the Muslims may grant quarter which will be binding on the totality of the Muslim state.<sup>6</sup> So this right is possessed not only by the combatants, potential or active, but even by others incapable of fight,<sup>7</sup> by the sick<sup>7</sup> and the blind,<sup>7</sup> and even by slaves.<sup>8</sup> The Prophet, more than once, rendered the quarter given by women valid.<sup>9</sup> Naturally minors, the insane, and those under enemy control (*e.g.*, prisoners, tourists, etc.) are excepted,<sup>10</sup> so long as they are under non-Muslim jurisdiction. Their incapacity terminates as soon as they reach a place outside non-Muslim jurisdiction: Muslim territory or no-man's land. (Cf. *supra*, Part 2, Ch. 3 last para).

1. Sarakhsiy, *بُرْج السِّير الْكَبِير*, I, 189.

2. Ibid., I, 185, on the authority of the Prophet.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 814.

4. *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsiy, X, 39; *Asrār* of Dabūsiy, fol. 146b (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul, No. 1402); *Tanbīh* of Mas'ūdiy, p. 267; *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 131; *Kharāj* of Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far, ch. 19, §9 (MS. Istanbul).

5. Sarakhsiy, *فتاوی عالیّة عَلَمَکَرِيّة*; *بُرْج السِّير الْكَبِير*, in loco.

6. Do I, 168-69.

7. Ibid., I, 189; *Kāṣāniy*, VII, 107.

8. Do I, 171-72, quoting a case of the time of the Caliph 'Umar. See also *Tabariy*, *Hist.*, I, 2567-68.

9. Sarakhsiy, *بُرْج السِّير الْكَبِير*, II, ch. 191-92, *Tirmidīy*, II, ch. 127.

10. Sarakhsiy, *بُرْج السِّير الْكَبِير*, I, 192; *Idem*, *Mabsūt*, X, 71.

الامان التزام الكف عن التعرض  
لهم بالقتل والسبى حق الله تعالى

Non-Muslim soldiers of the Muslim army, allies or otherwise, and even non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State are denied this right of granting quarter,<sup>1</sup> except when authorised by competent Muslims.<sup>2</sup> It is admitted that the commander of the Muslim army might notify that the enemy might not be given quarter by an individual Muslim other than the commander himself. Without such previous notification, the enemy might not be deprived of the right of soliciting quarter from individual Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

Quarter might for good reasons be revoked, but in such cases the enemy concerned must be allowed to return to the same position of safety and resistance as he was in when the quarter was granted.<sup>4</sup>

Quarter might even be temporary or conditional. The Prophet accorded Mu'āwiyah-ibn-Mughirah three days to quit Madinah.<sup>5</sup> Jews of Khaibar were told that their quarter would be forfeited if they hid their property.<sup>6</sup>

Quarter is sometimes granted for persons absent, and necessary assurances are provided in order to create confidence. On one such occasion the Prophet sent his turban.<sup>7</sup>

If a quartered belligerent is unwittingly molested, right to damages accrues.<sup>8</sup> The case of the two persons from Banū-Āmir may be cited here, as an instance of the time of the Prophet, which happened just before the battle of the Jews of Banū-an-Nadīr of Madinah.<sup>9</sup>

Generally speaking quarter is strictly a personal matter, and not transferable. If not expressly otherwise mentioned, it did not protect even the grantee's family, less so his property. This applied, however, only when one was in immediate danger.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, when one was safe in his home, and quarter was solicited, then it automatically included life, property, wives, children of minor age, unmarried daughters and sisters, mothers and grandmothers, and aunts of both the mother and father's side.<sup>11</sup> In case of license to trade, even the servants and slaves used to be included in the time of classical jurists.<sup>12</sup>

1. Sarakhsiy, I, 1, شرح السير الكبير, 172.

2. Ibid., I, 291-92.

3. Ibid., I, 356-59.

4. Ibid., I, 357.

5. Kāmil of Ibn al-Āṣhir, II, 127-28 (after the battle of Uhud); شرح السير الكبير, I, 328.

6. Sarakhsiy, I, 185-87.

7. Tabariy, Hist., I, 1645.

8. مسائل الاًمان (ذخيرة بر هانية), ch. XI.

9. Ibn-Hishām, p. 652; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 40-41; Tabariy, Hist., I, 1449f.

10. Muhit by Radīyuddin as-Sarakhsiy, I, fol. 602b-603a (MS. Waliuddin).

11. Ibid.; Sarakhsiy, I, 233-38.

12. Sarakhsiy, ibid.

## CHAPTER XV

*Treatment of Prisoners of War*

THIS subject naturally falls into two parts, *viz.*, Muslim soldiers or other subjects made captive by the enemy, and the subjects and soldiers of the non-Muslim power taken prisoners by the Muslims.

I. *Muslim Prisoners.*

A Muslim prisoner is bound to observe faithfully his parole and honour.<sup>1</sup> If, however, he had given no parole, he is at liberty, if he likes and is able, to escape or otherwise do harm to his captors.<sup>2</sup>

As regards Muslim subjects, it is the duty of the Muslim state to seek their release by giving money from the public treasury.<sup>3</sup> The Qur'ān clearly lays down that a portion of the state income is to be allotted for *freeing the necks*,<sup>4</sup> which is interpreted<sup>5</sup> as aiding the prisoners and slaves to get themselves freed. There are clear traditions of the Prophet also to the same effect recorded by *Bukhāriy* and others, for instance : "Manage the release of the prisoner" (فَكُوا الْمَاعِنِي).<sup>6</sup> As regards practice, I have not found any precedent of the time of the Prophet when ransom was paid for the release of Muslim prisoners. Exchange of prisoners will, however, be dealt with later. The Caliph 'Umar, however, ordered : "Every Muslim prisoner in the hands of non-Muslims must be relieved by means of the Muslim state-treasury."<sup>7</sup> Regarding later times, al-Maqriziy records and describes more than half a dozen general releases of Muslim prisoners by their enemy.<sup>8</sup> Historians of foreign countries have also recorded it. Finlay, for instance, says : "Regular exchange of prisoners with the Muslims commenced as early as the reign of Constantine V, A.D. 769. In the year 797 a new clause was inserted in a treaty for the exchange of prisoners, binding the contracting parties to release all superannuary captives on the payment of a fixed sum for each individual."<sup>9</sup>

Their wills and testaments, when received in Muslim territory are to

1. *Sarakhsiy*, *idem*, IV, 223, citing actual cases of the time of the Prophet.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 219ff.

3. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 121.

4. Qur'ān, 9 : 60.

5. See any commentary on the Qur'ān in *loco*. Also Ibn-Taimiyah, *op. cit.*, p. 17 : في الرقاب يدخل فيه (اعنة المكتين وافتداء الأسرى)

6. *Bukhāriy*, 56 : 171.

7. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 121 : كل أسير كان في أيدي المشركين من المسلمين ففكا كه من بيت مال المسلمين

8. *Khitāt* of Maqriziy, ch. Dār as-Šanā'ah. Cf. *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Āthīr, VIII, 269, anno 326.

9. Finlay, II, 89, cited by *Khudā Bakhsh* in the English translation of Von Kremer's *Orient*, p. 323, note.

be valid for the property of the deceased Muslim prisoner situate under Muslim jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *Enemy Prisoners captured by Muslims.*

As regards taking prisoners, there are two Qur'ānic verses :

i. Now when ye meet in battle those who disbelieve, then it is the smiting of the necks until ye have routed them ; then making fast of bonds ; and afterwards either grace or ransom till the war lay down its burdens. (47 : 4).

ii. It is not for any Prophet to have captives until he hath routed (the enemy) in the land. (8 : 67).

—(In both these verses the verb اُخْنَى occurs which means to route, to dominate, to subjugate. Cf. for this expression *History of Tabariy*, I, p. 1855, l. 11, and also the *Tafsīr* of the same author *in loco*. Cf. also تاویلات القرآن by al-Māturidiy (d. 333), who commenting on the latter verse gives it similar meaning :

حتى يثخن في الأرض ، اي يغلب . حتى اذا اخذ الفداء وسرحهم بعد ماغلب في الأرض ليكون دجوعهم الى غير منفعة و شرارة (محظوظة لاله في استانبول و ذخيرة ذو القدر جنگ، جامعه عثمانیه).

According to Muslim law, a prisoner *qua* prisoner cannot be killed. Ibn Rushd even records a consensus of the Companions of the Prophet to the same effect.<sup>2</sup> This does not preclude the trial and punishment of prisoners for crimes beyond rights of belligerency. For this we possess the high authority of the practice of the Prophet when two prisoners of the battle of Badr were beheaded by his order.<sup>3</sup> Muslim jurists clearly recognise that a prisoner cannot be held responsible for mere acts of belligerency :

Similarly there is a unanimity that belligerents would not be held responsible for damage they inflicted on Muslims regarding life and property. This would be so even when they embrace Islam or become Muslim subjects. For they did that conscientiously and in accordance with the dictates of their religion and at a time when they were authorised to do that. So they were on the same footing as Muslims. The same is true regarding the capture of property.<sup>4</sup>

و كذلك اهل الحرب لا يضمنون  
بالاجماع ما تلقوا علينا من الا موال  
و النفوس و ان اسلموا او صاروا  
ذمة تاویلهم و تدينيهم و معنتهم  
و كانوا كالمسلمين و كذلك اخذ المآل

1. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 229.

2. بداية المجتهد, I, 351 (ed. Muṣṭafā Bābī Press).

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 458. Both were inveterate foes of Islam ; their release was dangerous for Islam.

4. Dabūsiy, Astrār, fol. 148a.

Treatment during captivity has been the subject of liberal provisions. As regards the prisoners of Badr, the Prophet ordered : "Take heed of the recommendation to treat the prisoners fairly" <sup>۱</sup> (اَسْتُوصِيُّوا بِالْأَسْرَى خَيْرًا). The consequence was that many Muslim soldiers contented themselves with dates and fed the prisoners in their charge with bread.<sup>۲</sup> Abū-Yūsuf remarks that prisoners must be fed and well treated until a decision is reached regarding them.<sup>۳</sup> They are not to be charged for their food, the cost of which is to be borne by the capturing Muslim state.<sup>۴</sup> The Qur'ān lays down : "Lo ! the righteous shall . . . [go to Paradise] . . . (because) they perform the vow and fear a day whereof the evil is widespread, and feed with food the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner, for love of Him, (saying) : we feed you, for the sake of God only ; we wish for no reward nor thanks from you."<sup>۵</sup> Prisoners are to be protected from heat and cold, and the like. If they have no clothes, these might be provided—as was the practice of the Prophet.<sup>۶</sup> If they are in any trouble or discomfiture, this is to be done away with as far as possible, for which also there is authority of the practice of the Prophet.<sup>۷</sup> He has the right to draw up wills for the property at home.<sup>۸</sup> Obviously these would be communicated to the enemy authorities through a proper channel. Among prisoners, a mother is not to be separated from her child,<sup>۹</sup> nor other near relatives from each other.<sup>۱۰</sup> The position and dignity of prisoners are to be respected according to individual cases.<sup>۱۱</sup> A tradition is also attributed to the Prophet : "Pay respect to the dignitary of a nation who is brought low."<sup>۱۲</sup> There is no evidence in early Muslim history of exacting labour from prisoners. If they tried to escape or otherwise violate discipline, they might be punished.<sup>۱۳</sup> If they succeeded in their attempt to escape and reach safety (امان) and are again captured, their previous offence of escaping might not be ground for punishment,<sup>۱۴</sup> except perhaps the breach of parole.

1. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1337-38.

2. Ibid.

3. *Kharāj*, p. 88.

4. Ibid.

5. Qur'ān, 76 : 5-9.

6. Bukhāriy, 56 : 142, Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 111.

7. Kāmil of Ibn al-Āthir, II, 99. See also ch. Prisoners of Badr, etc. in any Seerat-work.

8. Sarakhsiy, شرح السیر الکبیر, IV, 229.

9. Ibid., IV., 241-43.

10. Ibid.

11. For treatment of the daughter of Muqauqis, cf. Maqriziy, خطف، 1, 297; (MS. تخته لا حباب), Berlin: etc.

ان لا ولاد الملوك ثانا ليس لغيرهن

12. Jāhīz, *Ibn 'Asākir*: (ارحوا عزب قوم ذل), 1, 22, البیان و التبیین.

13. These things fall under the discretionary powers of the commanders.

14. Do do.

Muslim law leaves to the discretion of the commander to decide whether prisoners of war are to be (a) beheaded, (b) enslaved, (c) released on paying ransom, (d) exchanged with Muslim prisoners, or (e) released gratis. We shall treat them separately.

(a) *Beheading of Prisoners.*

We have already seen, prisoners surrendering on conditions are treated according to the terms of their capitulation. On unconditional surrender, mere past acts of belligerency constitute no ground for inflicting capital punishment. No doubt, crimes other than these might bring punishment on the prisoner. According to Abū-Yūsuf, a prisoner might be beheaded only in the interest of Islam, though he also records many opinions of high authority that their beheading was disliked (*makrūh*).<sup>1</sup> We have seen that unanimity was reached among the Companions of the Prophet not to behead prisoners of war.<sup>2</sup> In short, capital punishment for prisoners of war is only permissible in extreme cases of necessity and in the higher interests of the State.

(b) *Enslavement.*

There is no verse in the Qur'ān directly permitting enslavement, yet some indirect mention is found in the following :

O Prophet ! Lo ! We have made lawful unto thee thy wives unto whom thou hast paid their bride-money, and those whom thy right hand possesseth of those whom God hath given thee as spoils of war... (33 : 50).

In the practice of the Prophet, however, though few, there are instances of it. The females and children of the Jewish tribe of Banū- Quraizah were, by the decision of the arbitrator nominated by themselves, enslaved and distributed as booty.<sup>3</sup> This arbitral award was in conformity with the Jewish personal law.<sup>4</sup> The captives of the Arab tribe of Hawāzīn, in the year 8 H. were distributed among the troops, but later on all of them were set free in answer to the supplication of the Hawāzīnites after their conversion to Islam. This manumission was not decreed as a right, but the Muslim soldiers were prompted by the personal example of the Prophet, and those who would not liberate their share, were compensated by the state-treasury.<sup>5</sup> A little earlier, the Arabian tribe of Banū-Muṣṭaliq

1. *Kharāj*, p. 121.

2. Ibn-Rushd, *إِنَّ الْجُنُوبَ*, I, 351.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 689.

4. Deuteronomy, XX, 10-14.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 877-78, Tabarī and others *in loco*.

had also incurred the same fate of losing females and children to the Muslim army. This time the Prophet married a girl from among the captives, who happened to be the daughter of the chieftain of the tribe, after liberating her. And the Muslim soldiery was persuaded to free all the enslaved persons.<sup>1</sup> The prisoners of Banul-'Anbar were set free either gratuitously or on ransom.<sup>2</sup>

The policy of the Prophet reached a climax when, as is said, he decreed that Arabs could not be enslaved ( لا رق على عربى ).<sup>3</sup> The Caliph 'Umar issued orders that peasants, artisans and professionals of belligerent countries should not be enslaved.<sup>4</sup> The Qur'ān exhorted liberation of slaves,<sup>5</sup> and provided that the income of the Muslim state should partly be allotted for the manumission of slaves.<sup>6</sup> Another verse<sup>7</sup> was interpreted by the Caliph 'Umar<sup>8</sup> to mean that if a Muslim slave wanted to work and thus pay off his value to his master, the master was not in a position to refuse the offer.

Thus it may be inferred that though Islam has done much to minimize slavery, it has not abolished it altogether. *Certainly* it is not obligatory always to enslave prisoners of war, yet it cannot be denied that the supreme commander of an army has the choice to accord the prisoners either enslavement or any other treatment. A word of caution may not be out of place. *Slave* in Islam does not convey the same idea as in other civilisations. For a slave of a Muslim has a right to equality with his master in food, clothing and dwelling. It cannot be denied that it was an easy method of proselytising non-Muslims which is the prime policy of a Muslim state.<sup>9</sup>

For treatment of and laws governing slaves in Islam, I may refer to my monograph , دومني اور اسلامی ادارہ غلامی published by the Law Union of the Osmania University, which contains also a bibliography.

### (c) Ransom.

The Qur'ān has legalised releasing prisoners of war on ransom (cf. 47 : 4) and there are many instances in the life of the Prophet of the liberating

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 729.

2. Ibn-Hishām, p. 983.

3. Mabsūt of Sarakhsiy, X, 118.

4. Kanzul-'Ummāl, Vol. 2, p. 314.

5. Qur'ān, 90 : 13, 2 : 177; freeing of slaves is an atonement of many an offence for which cf. Qur'ān 4 : 92, 5 : 89, 58 : 3.

6. Qur'ān, 9 : 60.

7. Qur'ān, 24 : 33 (نَكَبُوهُمْ أَنْ عَلِمْتُمْ فِيهِمْ خَيْرًا).

8. Shibli, al-Fārūq, citing Bukhāriy.

9. In the archives of Pondicherry, that jāgīr bestowed by the Nizām on the French East India Co. there are still preserved the proceedings disposing of the command of the emperor of France received to the effect that all people in French possessions be forced to baptise their slaves within a short time. But Islam does not allow compulsion to convert even slaves to Islam.

of them with various kinds of ransom and compensation. So they were required sometimes to teach a number of Muslim boys calligraphy;<sup>1</sup> sometimes money in gold or silver was demanded;<sup>2</sup> sometimes other goods, for instance spears<sup>3</sup> and munition of war, were accepted. It is not our concern whether the ransom was paid by the prisoner from his private purse or he was aided in it by his friends or government. The Caliph 'Umar II released full one hundred thousand prisoners and acquired the city of Malātiyah from the Byzantines.<sup>4</sup>

(d) *Exchange of Prisoners.*

Of Exchange, a special kind of ransom, there are many instances in the life of the Prophet : sometimes one for one,<sup>5</sup> at others one for more.<sup>6</sup> In later times, it developed into a complicated institution involving the release of thousands of prisoners at a time. In certain treaties the value of the ransom of prisoners was fixed in definite sum of money.<sup>7</sup>

It is natural that vehicles employed for the purpose of conveying exchangeable prisoners—cartels as they are called—should be immune during their journey to and fro.<sup>8</sup> It is also obvious that during the time of this immune journey they should not take part in hostilities on pain of losing that immunity.

(e) *Gratuitous Release.*

The Qur'ān has recommended this when hostilities have ceased (cf. 47 : 4). There are not a few instances of it in the life of the Prophet. From the battle of Badr until his death, one comes across gratuitous releases of prisoners every now and then.<sup>9</sup> There were also cases of release on parole that they would no more take part in hostilities against Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

Before the booty—in which prisoners, according to Muslim law, are included—is distributed among the capturers, the commander is free

1. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 14; *Musnad* of Ibn-Hanbal, I, 246-47.

2. Ibn-Hishām, p. 462, etc.

3. Ibn-Hajar, *Isābah*, No. 8336; *Kattāniy*, II, 38.

4. Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad-ibn-Salāmah-ibn-Ja'far, *عيون المعارف و فنون اخبار الخلاف* MS. Topkapı-pusarai), fol. 77a.

5. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1345-46, 1862.

6. *Sahīh* of Muslim, V, 150, ch.

7. Cf. *supra*, a few pages above, in the beginning of this section citing Finlay.

8. Cf. Sarakhsiy, III, 327-28. شرح السير الكبير.

9. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1354 for instance.

10. Cf. any biography of the Prophet, prisoners of Badr, etc. e.g., Ibn-Hishām, p. 471.

to deal with the prisoners as he likes.<sup>1</sup> But after they are enslaved and distributed, the consent<sup>2</sup> of each recipient is necessary in all those acts of the commander which affect adversely the possessory rights of the owners of the now-enslaved prisoners. The prisoners of Hawāzin provide a good precedent, when the Prophet allowed compensation from the public treasury to all those who were not willing to part with their booty of slaves. (*Tabarīy, Hist.*, pp. 1675-79).

## CHAPTER XVI

### *Choice given to Inhabitants of Annexed Territory*

EX-ENEMY subjects of occupied territory are expected to remain peaceful, law-abiding and in no way hostile to the conqueror. But they are not forced to become subjects of the new state if their district or country is finally annexed ; but they are given a year<sup>1</sup> in which to quit the territory or become the subjects of the Muslim state, their new master. It is not necessary to accept all the inhabitants as subjects ; some of them might be expelled. The Caliph 'Umar deprived the Jews, the Greeks and the bandits (الروم والصوت) of the choice of living in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

If they wished to become the subjects of the Muslim state, they are required to pay the protection tax (*jizyah*) or whatever might be agreed upon between them and their new government.<sup>4</sup> After the act of naturalisation is executed, they become ordinary subjects. For certain peculiarities of non-Muslim subjects see *supra* Part 2, Chapter 4, Section b.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *Acts Permitted*

NOW we will enumerate acts permitted by Muslim Law in the actual conduct of war.

1. Enemy combatants might be killed,<sup>5</sup> wounded,<sup>6</sup> pursued<sup>7</sup> and made captive.<sup>8</sup> Non-combatants might be killed in defence only and not otherwise. The jurists of the Abbasid period made an exception regarding

1. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

2. مرح السير الكبير, III, 39.

3. *Tabarīy, Hist.*, I, 2405-06.

4. For instance, the famous pact of the Caliph 'Umar with Christians of the tribe of Banū-Tagħlib who resented the term *jizyah*, and agreed to pay certain other taxes in increased ratio. Cf. Abū-Yūsuf, etc. in loco.

5. Qur'ān, 47 : 4, 8 : 12.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Qur'ān, 4 : 104, 3 : 172.

8. Qur'ān, 47 : 4, 8 : 12.

children, women, and men incapable of fighting through old age or otherwise—these might be killed, they say,<sup>1</sup> if they are rulers, commanders, or advisers in tactics and strategy, and it is expected that their death would produce adverse effects on the enemy. Sometimes the Qur'ānic expression, "then fight with the ringleaders of Disbelief"<sup>2</sup> is also referred to for support in this connexion. Kāsāniy explains :

And the principle therein is that all those who are potentially capable of fighting, may be killed, no matter whether they actually fight or not. And all those who are potentially incapable of fighting must not be killed, except when they fight actually or potentially, such as by means of opinion, influence, inciting and the like.<sup>3</sup>

2. Recourse might be had to ruses.<sup>4</sup> The Prophet is reported in his warlike expeditions generally to have given currency to apparently misleading things<sup>5</sup> (تودية), using ambiguous expressions<sup>6</sup> and the like to consternate the enemy. "War is a ruse" (الحرب خدعة)<sup>7</sup> is a famous dictum in Muslim military literature which is also attributed to the Prophet.

2a. Propaganda may require a separate treatment. There are cases in the time of the Prophet when secret agents were sent who sowed discord between the different sections of the allied enemy,<sup>8</sup> and who disseminated false news in order to discourage the enemy,<sup>9</sup> or to extract some other benefit from the enemy.<sup>10</sup> Once a famine was afflicting Mecca, and the Prophet sent a handsome contribution of five hundred gold coins towards the relief work. The Meccan magnates, though they dared not refuse and return the contribution, at once discerned in it a powerful weapon "to win the affection of the youngsters of Mecca" مایرید محمد بهذا الا (ان يخدع شبابنا).<sup>11</sup>

The famous verse of the Qur'ān on the Islamic budget<sup>12</sup> also allots a portion of the income for propaganda (و المولفة قلوبهم). According to Abū-Ya'lā al-Farrā', this Qur'ānic term includes four categories :

1. Those whose hearts are to be won to aid Muslims.
2. To persuade them to abstain from doing harm to Muslims.

1. Sarakhsiy, *Sharḥ as-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 34; cf. also *supra* "Acts Forbidden," No. 2.

2. Qur'ān, 9 : 12.

3. *Badā'i'* of Kāsāniy, VII, 101.

4. Bukhāri, 55 : 157; Muslim, V, 143; Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, I, 83-86.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 894.

6. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1302-03.

7. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, I, 83.

8. Ibn-Hishām, 683-84.

9. Ibn-Hajar, *Isābah*, No. 3074.

10. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1586.

11. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, I, 69.

12. Qur'ān, 9 : 60. cf my article in مجله نظامي, Hyderabad, Rabi' I, 1357 H.

3. To induce them to embrace Islam.

4. To give inducement to others through them.<sup>1</sup>

Of course most of them will be non-Muslims, and our author has also recognised it explicitly.

3. The enemy might be attacked with all kinds of weapons.<sup>2</sup> In this matter ships and forts were regarded as the same.<sup>3</sup> Of course unnecessary bloodshed is to be avoided. In the time of the Prophet, one comes across superior strategy and better tactics in the Muslim army as also new formations, new methods of defence. Trench warfare was not known in Hijāz before the Prophet. The element of surprise was also included as much as possible, which diminished bloodshed and procured easy surrender.<sup>4</sup> The Caliph Mu'āwiyah used incendiary materials (عُرَقَاتٍ) in his marine expeditions.<sup>5</sup> S. P. Scot records that the Muslims of Spain used in the seventh century of Hijrah what might be considered a crude form of cannon.<sup>6</sup> During the Crusades the Muslims used a kind of marine mine.<sup>7</sup> During the same time, Salāhuddin managed to send his ships to ports besieged by Christians by placing pigs on the deck and clothing the sailors in Christian dress.<sup>8</sup> An author of at least several hundred years ago mentions even poison gases. He says :

و اما المكيدة في الحرب كالنيران والد خاخين والمياه المدببة والروائح المنتنة القاتلة لخراب العصون والقلاء وادهاش العدو حائزة

The name of the author is not known; the manuscript was copied in 1231 H. Various formulæ for the preparation of poison gases are given in another old MS. in Arabic.<sup>10</sup> Attacks with smoke are mentioned and upheld by such an old author as Burhānuddīn al-Marghinānī (d. 616).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Abū-Ya'la al-Farrā', *al-Āḥkām as-Sultāniyah*, fol. 82, (MS. Istanbul).

2. Qur'ān, 8 : 60 ; Sarakhsiy, III, 212 : نَحْمَ السَّرِّ الْكَبِيرِ ; وَاعْدُوهُمْ مَا اسْنَدْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ ( وَاعْدُوهُمْ مَا اسْنَدْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ )

"ولاباس للمسامين ان يحر قواهصون المشركين بالثار او يفرقوا باللام او أن ينصبوا عليهم الماجانين و أن يقطعوا لهم" cf. on the contrary the opinion of

the Mâlikite Khalil, that poisoned arrows are forbidden, *supra*, "Acts Forbidden," No. 18.

3. Sarakhsiy, *نهر السراج الأكم*, III, 265.

4. Cf. Revue des Études Islamiques, 1939 : Les champs de bataille au temps du Prophète ; مجموعه تحقیقات، ۱۹۳۹: میدانات نبرد در زمان پیغمبر. Both by me.

III, 213. بِرْحَ السَّرِّ الْكَبِيرِ ٥.

6. History of Moorish Empire in Europe, III, 634 (anno 1249 of Chr. era).

7. Lawrence, *Principle of International Law*, p. 511.

8. *Kāmil* of Ibn al-*Athīr*, XII, 34; Ibn-*Shaddād*: الْمُحَاسِنُ الْيَوْمَ سَفَيْهٌ p. 178.

<sup>9.</sup> رسالة في كيفية العرب والآسرى والمرتدية, MS. Cairo, Fiqh Hanafiy, No. 1080, ch., 27.

10. المَكَابِدُ الْمُرْبِيَّةُ, MS. Hamidié, Istanbul, No. 189, pp. 308-17.

II. المحيط الهرافي. Vol. III, ch. 23. (MS. Yani Jāmi'. Istanbul).

**Ash-Shaibāniy** allows surprise attacks, burning forts and flooding them with water.<sup>1</sup> Instruments for producing terrifying and shrill sounds as a consternator were resorted to by Arabs and other Muslim peoples.<sup>2</sup>

4. Assassination. It is allowed in Muslim law, and may perhaps be justified on the ground that often it diminishes greater bloodshed and discord, and it is resorted to as the lesser of two evils. In the life of the Prophet there are several clear instances of it. The expeditions dispatched by him against Abul-Huqaiq,<sup>3</sup> Ka'b-ibn-al-Ashraf,<sup>4</sup> Abū-Rāfi'<sup>5</sup> and Sufyān-ibn-Anas<sup>6</sup> were successful, and the one against Abū-Sufyān<sup>7</sup> failed to achieve the desired aim.

5. Instances of night attacks, too, are not lacking in the history of the time of the Prophet. Muslim historians have recorded even the very watchwords used on these occasions.<sup>8</sup> On one such occasion two parties of the Muslims clashed with each other by mistake, and some blood was shed before it was discovered. The Prophet agreed that it was by mistake and it was left unpunished.<sup>9</sup>

6. In a previous Chapter it was stated what kind of people might not be killed except in self-defence. In the confusion of a night attack, or when catapults or other war machines cause damage from an invisible distance, the unintentional killing of such non-combatants is exempt from punishment ; but soldiers must be warned not to aim at them.<sup>10</sup>

7. It is necessary sometimes, in sieges for instance, that an enemy should be fired at from a distance. Often in besieged places are found not only non-combatants but also neutrals and even Muslim subjects such as tourists or prisoners, etc.<sup>11</sup> Again, sometimes the enemy takes shelter behind women, children or even Muslim prisoners. In all such cases Muslim soldiers are enjoined simply not to aim at the non-combatants and non-belligerents.<sup>12</sup>

8. Enemy property may be destroyed or captured. This will be discussed in a separate Chapter.

9. The water-supply of the enemy may be cut off or in some other way may be made unusable for them. The Prophet cut it off from

1. *Shaibāniy*, *Asl*, ch. (الجيش الذي غزا في أهل الحرب, MS. Aya Sofia, Istanbul).

2. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, April 1941 : 'A Note on Noise as a Consternator in Islamic Armies,' pp. 24off.

3. *Tabariy*, *Hist.*, I, 1379.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1372 ; *Bukhāriy*, 54 : 15.

5. *Tabariy*, I, 1375-76 ; *Bukhāriy*, 54 : 16.

6. *Sarakhsiy*, I, 79. شرح السير الكبير.

7. *Tabariy*, *Ikhtilaf al-Fugaha'*, p. 18b (MS. Istanbul), *Ibn-Sa'd*, 2/1, p. 68 ; *Ibn-Hishām*, p. 994.

8. *Ibn-Sa'd*, 2/1, p. 17, *Musnad* of *Ibn-Hanbal*, IV, 65, *Māwardiy*, p. 60.

9. *Muhiṭ Burhāniy*, ch. 23 ; *Ibn-Hishām*, p.

10. *Sarakhsiy*, III, 213, *Bukhāriy*, 54 : 146. شرح السير الكبير.

11. *Muhiṭ* of *Radiuddin Sarakhsiy*, I, 569, citing a case from the time of the Prophet.

12. *Sarakhsiy*, III, 216, *Abū-Ya'lā*, fol. 25 a/b. لا حكم للطاغية.

the enemy during the battles of Badr<sup>1</sup> and Khaibar<sup>2</sup> with great effect.

10. Food and fodder may be obtained from an enemy country.<sup>3</sup> There are indications to the effect that the Muslim armies sent by the Prophet used to pay for what they obtained wherever practicable. So Tirmidhiy records :

The meaning of the Hadith is that they used to go in military expeditions and pass by people who would not sell them the requisites for cash. It was for this that the Prophet said : If they decline to sell and will not surrender except by force, then use force..... It is related of 'Umar that he used to give similar instructions.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, there are also indications of food and fodder being obtained by what is termed requisition.<sup>5</sup> Unlike other captures, food and fodder are not considered booty, i.e., not shared by the Government nor divided among the whole army, but the captor becomes the sole owner.<sup>6</sup>

11. Individuals or localities may collectively be fined or otherwise punished for indiscipline or hostility to the occupying forces.

These are but a few cases recording law and practice. It is very difficult to give a comprehensive list of what acts are permitted. The general principle may help to a great extent that every thing not prohibited is permissible (الاصل الاباحة).<sup>7</sup>

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Spies

IN olden times spies could not have done so much harm to the other side as in modern times when spying has developed from an art into a veritable science. Nevertheless elaborate precautions were taken even in olden times to hide news from the enemy. The Prophet sometimes closed all roads to private persons<sup>8</sup> (حبس الطرق) in order to prevent infiltration of news of military importance.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 439-40.

2. Sarakhsiy, III, 213.

كان المسلمون اذا فتحوا از وادهم واعلوا فهم جردوا الخيل فاختذت : ١٢٠ p. ، الاخبار المطوال البرحقى بخط على المكان الذى يريدون وينهبون فتنصرون بالطعام والعلف والمواشي.

4. Tirmidhiy, I, 301, ed. Bulaq.

5. Dinawariy, p. 120. More, *infra*, under chapter "Private Property."

6. Cf. any law book, ch. Booty.

7. Cf. *supra*, Part I, Ch. VI, §10.

8. Abū-Yūsuf, Kharāj, p. 131.

معنى الحديث انهم كانوا يخرجون في الغزو نميرون بقوم ولا يجدون من الطعام ما يشترون بالشمن وقاتل النبي صلعم ان أبووا ان يبيعوا الان تأخذوا اكرهانخذوا .... وقدرو عن عربين الخطاب رضانه كان يامر بخوض هذا

Practically no distinction is made in Muslim law between spies of war and spies of peace. All those persons who obtain or attempt to obtain information useful to an enemy, and try to transmit it to the enemy, are considered as spies. Even a Muslim subject may play that mean rôle and incur the same punishment as an alien.

Naturally less formality is observed regarding aliens suspected of fifth column activities. Two cases of the time of the Prophet may be noted with interest.

(a) The Treaty of Hudaibiyah became invalid owing to its being violated by the Meccans. Great preparations were secretly undertaken to avenge the infraction of the treaty. A Muslim of old standing, Hātib-ibn-Abī-Balṭā'ah guessed where these preparations were directed. He wrote a letter to his friends in Mecca to the effect that preparations were ahead and that might be they were directed against Mecca, so Meccans should take precautions. He intended thereby a better treatment of his private property situate in Mecca. The letter was intercepted, and when the Prophet was satisfied that neither was the letter motivated by ill-will to Islam nor had it done any harm, he pardoned Hātib in view of his long meritorious services, including his taking part in the battle of Badr.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Al-Bukhāri quotes a few details of an incident in which the Prophet, during a certain expedition, ordered a suspected spy to be pursued and captured, who was later beheaded.<sup>2</sup> We do not know what opportunity was given him to plead or how he came to be suspected.

Abū-Yūsuf is of opinion that non-Muslim spies, no matter whether subjects or aliens, must be given capital punishment, and those who profess Islam might be imprisoned or physically tortured.<sup>3</sup> His contemporary ash-Shaibāniy regards espionage as less harmful than robbery, and so he thinks that subjects of the Muslim state may not be beheaded for espionage. Regarding aliens, however, he too has no mercy.<sup>4</sup>

No distinction is made, as far as punishment is concerned, between a male and a female spy.<sup>5</sup> Yet a minor should on no account be made to suffer the supreme penalty, say Muslim jurists.<sup>6</sup>

## CHAPTER XIX

### *Uniforms*

VARIOUS devices have been made to distinguish friend from foe during the frenzy of a battle. Its purpose is twofold—comfort and distinctiveness.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 810, Sarakhsiy, IV, 226.

2. Bukhāriy, 56 : 173.

3. Abū-Yūsuf, Kharāj, p. 117.

4. Cf. شرح السير الكبير, IV, 226-27.

5. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 226-27.

6. Ibid.

The Prophet is reported to have worn during military marches, special cloaks.<sup>1</sup> There is also mention of prominent warriors wearing distinctive costumes during a battle.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is no evidence of any organised attempt in the time of the Prophet to provide all the members of the expedition with uniforms, except that he is reported to have ordered on the day of Badr that Muslims should wear distinctive signs, adding that the angels who came on that day to the help of the Muslims also wore such signs.<sup>3</sup> A صونه (sort of woollen crest?) is said to have been adopted by Muslims on that occasion.<sup>4</sup> The life of the Prophet shows that he had an ingenious device which served both during night and day. He instructed watchwords for each campaign, and during a combat the cries of the watchword could fairly easily distinguish friend from foe.<sup>5</sup>

Greater uniformity of dress is reported in the time of the Caliph 'Aliy.<sup>6</sup> The Abbasid Mu'tasim and Mutawakkil are reported to have raised uniformly dressed armies.<sup>7</sup>

## CHAPTER XX Flags of Truce

THE sign of surrender in ancient times seems to have been mere holding-up of hands and laying-down of arms. In the time of the Caliph 'Aliy we come across the expression "flag of truce."<sup>8</sup> But the technical branch of Muslim military science has not yet been thoroughly studied.<sup>9</sup>

Mention may also be made here of the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān by the troops of Mu'āwiyah in the battle of Šiffīn on which the opposing army held up their arms.<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \*

So far we have dealt with enemy persons. In the following we propose to discuss enemy property as affected by war.

(To be continued).

M. HAMIDULLAH.

1. Bukhāriy, 54 : 90.

2. Tabariy, Hist., I, p. 1393, ll. 14-15 ; Ibn-Hishām, p. 448, etc.

3. Tabariy, Tafsīr, IV, 54, commenting on the verse 3 : 125.

4. Ibid. اول مakan الصوف ليومنڈ يعني بدر ().

5. Musnad of Ibn-Hanbal, IV, 289, also my میدان جنگ کے میدان نبوی کے میدان جنگ ; Ibn-Sa'd, 211, p. 17.

6. Mas'ūdiy, Murūj, IV, 309ff. (ed. Europe).

7. Ameer 'Ali, A Short Hist. of the Saracens, p. 431 (ed. 1921) : "all regulars were given light brown cloaks."

8. Yūsuf-ibn-Muhammad al-Andalusiy, fol. 14a, b.

9. See, however, Fries, *Heerwesen der Araber zur Zeit der Umayyaden*, Kiel, 1920 ; Wüstenfeld, *Heerwesen der Muhammadaner*, Göttingen, 1880 ; Encyclopædia of Islam, s.v. Tabalkhāna, etc.; Lord Munster, فهرست الكتب التي رغب ان يطبعها, lithographed 1840 ; a copy also in the Hyderabad State Library which reads a very interesting and descriptive catalogue.

10. Tabariy, Hist., I, 3352-53.

# MODERN TENDENCIES IN ARABIC LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

## THE FACTORS THAT MODERNISED ARABIC

THE modernisation of Arabic literature began after the French invasion of Egypt in 1798. This invasion provided an opportunity for the East and West to come together and understand each other's mentality. Education began to spread as Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā al-Kabir opened various schools after the European model. There were first opened a few schools for teaching medicine and different sciences in Egypt. During the early period of the nineteenth century, the number of schools was increasing fast.<sup>2</sup> By 1906, five hundred and five new schools, excluding village schools, were established. They gave instruction to about 92,000 pupils, of whom about 20,000 were girls.<sup>3</sup> Under the enlightened administration of the Educational Minister, Sa'ad Pāshā Zaghlol, education began to advance still more quickly.

But it was quite later that Arab countries except Syria took to the task of spreading education. Muḥammad 'Ali's son, Ibrāhīm, had already founded primary schools in Syria. The school of Butrus Bustānī (1819-1883) also was set up. American and French Missionaries established in the year 1860 thirty-three schools which were attended by approximately one thousand pupils.<sup>4</sup>

The monastic college in "Ain Waraqā" in Lebanon had made a point of encouraging the study of Arabic. The educational activities of the missionaries progressed so far that they founded the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866.<sup>5</sup>

The first requisite of all these educational efforts was a supply of Arabic text-books and school manuals. Eli Smith in Beirut and his colleagues decided to supply this urgent demand. They secured the services of two

1. This essay is intended to give a general outline of the subject-matter.

2. By 1882 there were 5,397 primary and secondary schools of Government in Egypt. They gave instructions to 142,217 pupils. See *History of Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. IV. p. 27, Second Edition, 1937.

3. See *Modern Egypt* by the Earl of Cromer, p. 880.

4. *The Arab Awakening* by George Antonius, p. 42.

5. See further information in the *History of Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. IV. p. 37-44.

scholars, Naṣif Yaziji and Butrus Bustānī, whom they commissioned to compile manuals on a variety of subjects for the use of schools. In Egypt this task of compiling text-books and translating foreign works was being carried on by Tahtāwī, Abdullāh Bāshā Fikrī and 'Ali Mubārak Bāshā.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, an improvement in compilation and translation had been made by the establishment of Arabic printing presses in Constantinople (1816) and in Cairo (1822), both of which brought out books of literary and scientific value in Arabic. The printing of classical works and the translation of foreign books and education generally began to increase fast. The avidity with which these books were received shows that minds were awakening to acquire knowledge.

This awakening was further accelerated by journalism, which was spreading rapidly parallel with the growth of education. Muḥammad 'Ali Bāshā al-Kabīr took a first step in this direction also, when he founded "Al-Waqā'i-al-Miṣryya" in the year 1828. In the reign of the Khedive Ismā'il, (1863-1882), the demand for daily papers, magazines and periodicals increased. Many leading personalities of the time such as Al-Baklī Bāshā, Ibrāhim Al-Dasūki, Basharah Taklah and later on Sheikh 'Ali Yūsuf, Syyid Jamāluddin al-Afghānī and Sheikh Muhammed 'Abduh interested themselves in Arabic journalism, which was further assisted by the later developments in the political and social conditions of Egypt. If there were printed four or five thousand newspapers in 1914, they have now increased to forty or fifty thousand approximately.<sup>2</sup> Similarly their circulation has widened so far that more than fifty thousand papers and magazines are sent every week outside Egyptian territories.

As to Syrian journalism, the Syrians were no doubt first to respond to the call of Arab journalism. They, indeed, did much to raise the standard of this branch of literature; yet as a result of the immigration of Syrian literates, the centre of Arabic literary activities shifted to Egypt.

This progress of journalism brought the man in the street in contact with European culture and civilization. The spread of European science, philosophy, art and literature led naturally to an upheaval in the political and social conceptions of Arab society. To the factors of education and journalism which were already working for the reconstruction of Arab society, was added another effective factor, namely, translation of European works into Arabic. The young men who were sent to acquire higher education in European universities began to translate European works on science, law and literature in an endeavour to renovate Arabic culture when they returned to their mother country.

As the urgencies of the time demanded from journalists and translators of European works that they should be simple and clear in their writings, they paid little attention to the grammatical and philological rules laid

1. See *Al-Wāsit* pp. 328-333.

2. See *Al-Blāgh*, April 10, 1936, p. 8th, April 3, 1936, p. 2, for lectures delivered on The Tendencies in Modern Journalism and the place of Egyptian Journalism, by A. Zaidan and A. Sa'id respectively.

down by classical authors. They abandoned the rhymed prose which was considered to be the only literary style of the day. In addition, the difficulties experienced in translating foreign works into Arabic compelled the writers to give up their rhetorical ornamentations. They therefore imitated sometimes the style of Badi'-al-Zamān Al-Hamdhānī, or Al-Khawārizmī and sometimes the style of Ibn Khaldūn used by him in his famous *Prolegomena*. Further, they made free use of the Turkish words and ungrammatical idioms used in their daily conversation.

### DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

SUCH deviations from the classical rules of the Arabic language made the Sheikhs of Azhar University and the followers of the classical school stand out against the adherents of this new school, who were rapidly increasing in number. This struggle between the old and the new schools awakened the slumbering spirits of the Sheikhs. As there were printing presses ready for their help, they determined to revive classical literature. By editing the manuscripts of the classical authors, they made literary Arabic accessible to the speakers of Arabic. Both the schools—the conservative Sheikhs and the Europeanised liberals (*Effendis*)—had now come forward to win the people over to their sides. The followers of old school wanted to bring them back to the old standard, and they indeed worked hard to bring the grammatical idiom into common use. In spite of their efforts, rhymed prose gradually gave place to the changing style. In Magazines such as *Al-'Urwatal-Wuthka* (1884), *Al-Muktaṭaf*, (1886), *Al-Hilāl* and *Al-Manār* (1891), and in the works of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh, a marked development is noticed in the style of Arabic prose. The essayists who contributed to these journals followed classical rules of grammar and literature, but they had freed themselves from the fetters of rhymed prose to a great extent. They had also put an end to the old custom of paying religious homage to linguistic form at the expense of meaning.

This change in the style of writing owes a great deal to the intellectual activities which were started by Syyid Jamāluddin Al-Afghānī and Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh. One of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh's influences, which were then at work in various directions, was the stimulus he had stirred in the direction of writing.<sup>1</sup> As 'Abduh's movement aimed to free the minds of the Egyptians from the fetters of traditions and to reconcile the culture of Islam with the scientific achievements of modern civilization,<sup>2</sup> he had created therefore an environment in which a new

1. See *Al-Manār*, November 6, 1093, pp. 783-784, and 775-779.

2. It was due to Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh's teachings that commentaries on the Holy Qur'an, Islamic Jurisprudence and Islamic philosophy underwent a new system of interpretation. This new system is by itself a separate branch of study, and too elaborate to deal with here.

era of writing could develop. He had, further, made it possible for the Arabic literature and Islamic sciences to become modernised without breaking with its Islamic past.<sup>1</sup>

Since Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh's movement had created a large following and had provided competent scholars from among its ranks, they organised themselves into a People's Party. When in the year 1907 the organ of this party, *Al-Jaridah*, appeared under the editorship of Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, Arabic writing adopted a definite line of development. These followers of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh denounced the policy of both the conservatives and the radical liberals and formulated instead a school of moderate views between the two extremists. They aimed to prepare the nation through education, character-building and implanting a belief in independence. These scholars sought likewise to introduce the principles of Western civilization into the social and political life of the country and also into the field of literature, while preserving genuine Islamic characteristics.<sup>2</sup> As time passed by, the political discord which had arisen within the ranks of the party led eventually to the discontinuation of its organ *Al-Jaridah* in 1914. But the spirit of intellectual progress which had been inculcated by the newspaper began to grow through press and otherwise.

The newly established University (1908),<sup>3</sup> which had now come to play a destined role in promoting the cause of this literary revival, aided in the dissemination of modern ideas. This movement attained its full force when, in the year 1922, the students of the new school joined together in order to publish *Al-Siyāsah*, which was edited by Dr. Muhammad Husain Haikal. The men of letters who gathered round *Al-Siyāsah* concentrated on the study of criticism and the history of Arabic literature. In their works and essays at the first time the spirit of Egyptian nationalism becomes prominent as against their predecessors' spirit of Arab nationalism. Even among the students of the modern school one finds two different trends of thoughts. Dr. Mansūr Fahmī,<sup>4</sup> Prof. Ahmad Ameen<sup>5</sup> and Muṣṭafa Abdul Rāzik, for instance, belong to that group of writers who believe that Eastern literature can derive from the vast literary and scientific resources of the West without impairing at the same time the essential characteristics of Islamic culture. 'Abbas Mahmood Al-Akkād and Ibrāhim Abdul Kadeī Al-Mazinī have similar tendencies.

1. See *Al-Manār*, November 1, 1902, pp. 566-576 and *Risālah Al-Tauhid* by Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh, 7th Edition, pp. 22-23 and *Al-'Urwah-al-Wuthqā*, Biography of 'Abduh by Muṣṭafa 'Abdul Rāzik, p. 28, third edition 1933, and *Mashāhir-al-Shark* Vol. I. p. 288.

2. See *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* by C. C. Adam, p. 224. As the original works of modern Islamic writers are not available in Hyderabad, Deccan a secondhand source is used. For these valuable facts I am indebted to Dr. Adam's work.

3. Reorganised in 1925.

4. See his address on the East and the Western Civilization, *Al-Muktaṭaf*, October 1, 1930, p. 33.

5. See his lecture on 'Islam as a factor of Civilization,' *Al-Risālah*, 20th April, p. 608, and 27th April, p. 684, 1936.

At the other side of the modernist group is Dr. Tāha Husain. He is chiefly concerned with applying scientific methods and Western canons of literary criticism to the study of Arabic literature. His method of criticism is not to accept anything of what the ancients said about the literary activities of the Arabs, except after scientific examination.<sup>1</sup> When his work on the poetry of the Pre-Islamic period appeared, a storm of hostile criticism was raised against him. As his thesis in the book is that Pre-Islamic poetry for the most part is not Pre-Islamic and as he has denied, in his capacity of a learned critic and not of a Muslim, the authenticity of the Pre-Islamic legends concerning Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl, the book was suppressed by the Egyptian Government, in compliance with the loud and insistent demand of the public.<sup>2</sup> Despite the obstacles which hampered his literary efforts, he continued endeavouring hard to free the study of Arabic from the decadent methods of classical criticism. He claims that if Arabic literature is to be developed as it ought to be, it should be freed from its connection with the theological sciences. His contention is that the scientific treatment of any branch of learning is possible only when its investigation is free from all prejudices, be they religious, political or otherwise. "I would like," he says, "to study the history of literature with a detached and critical air just as the biologist and botanist treat their respective sciences, without favour or fear." (See *al-Adab-al-Jāhili*, p. 55). His discourses dealing with the Arabic classics first appeared weekly in *Al-Siyāsah* and were published under the title *Wednesday Talk*<sup>3</sup> (حديث الاربعاء). In these talks he has laid bare the life and poetry of Omyyad and Abbasid periods, and has, in his usual spirit of criticism, examined many aspects of the poetry of famous poets such as Abū Nuwās, *Bashshār b.-Burd*, Muṭī'-ibn-Iyās, Marwān-ibn-Abī Hafṣa, etc., and he also entered into the controversy which was then feverishly raging between the supporters of the old and new schools.<sup>4</sup>

It was during this period (1882-1936), in which Egypt witnessed tremendous changes in her political and social life, that European influences began to take their destined share in reshaping Arabic literature.

## POETRY

THE appearance of new poetry is largely due to French influence. Students like 'Uthmān Jalāl who came in contact with French poetry translated pieces of Moliere and La Fontaine into ungrammatical folk-songs

1. For further details, see the first chapter of *Al-Adab-al-Jāhili*, by Dr. Tāha Husain, pp. 1-57, third edition, 1933.

2. See *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, p. 255, published in 1933. As modern works are not available in Hyderabad, second-hand sources are used.

3. They were published in the form of a book by the press "المطبعة التجارية" in 1925.

4. See *Al-Siyāsah*, 13th Dec. 1922 and 8th Feb. 1924.

(Zajal). Though Zajal and similar folk-songs have become still more popular after the establishment of Egyptian theatres, film companies and Arab radio-centres, yet they have not developed and do not possess any literary importance.

The rhymes and metres are even now just the same as used in the Abbasid period. But the creative nature of Showki (1868-1932) has produced a new measure in the following composition :

مال و احتجبْ وادعى الغضبْ<sup>1</sup>  
فاعلن فعلْ فاعلن فعلْ

Even the latest poet, Ibrāhīm Nājī has made use of a new metre in his " عاصفة دوح " which begins with

اين شط الرجا يا عباب المعمود<sup>2</sup>  
فاعلاتن فعلْ فاعلاتن فعلْ<sup>3</sup>

Though these are modifications of classical metres, yet they are new to literary Arabic. As to the diction and style of the early poets such as Al-Barūdī (1839-1904) and even Hāfiẓ (1873-1932), they followed in the footsteps of the Abbasid poets. A few patriotic lines scattered in Al-Barūdī's *Kasidas* just as :

و لا عدتك سباء ذات اغداق	يا روضة النيل لا مستك بائقة
انى اعيش بها في ثوب املاق	أصبو اليها على بعد و يعجبني
اهلا كراما لهم ودى و اشفاقى	وكيف انسى ديارا قد تركت بها

show how he was being influenced by the tendencies of his age. This patriotism reaches a higher stage of development in the elegies and odes of Hāfiẓ. Not only the patriotic poetry but also his pathetic expressions and sympathy with the unfortunate poor of Egypt made him a poet of the people. Both Hāfiẓ and Showki sang songs of Egyptian national spirit and reminded the Arabs of the past glories of Islamic and Egyptian civilization. Yet it was with Showki that new forms and new subjects appeared in Arabic verse. Showki, the poet-laureate of the Egyptian court, abandons the old *Kasida* form, makes use of commonplace<sup>4</sup> words and unfamiliar names borrowed from the ancient history of Egypt, new

1. See *Al-Showkiyat*, Vol. II., p. 13, printed by مطبعة مصر.

2. See the Weekly *Al-Risālah*, 1935, p. 1627.

3. It can be scanned this way also فاعلن فاعلن.

4. See *Al-Showkiyat*, Vol. I, p. 335. و خلقى أغنى لذى غنوى and ليهلك انهم نز عوا امونا see Antra p. 25.

words like, سیاره (مطاده) etc.,<sup>1</sup> and even uses symbolic words like داع و غاد<sup>2</sup> for railway train, جبار القرون<sup>3</sup> for Tūt Ghānkh Amen, الیث<sup>4</sup> for British lion, etc. He has also introduced epic and lyrical dramas into Arabic.

In spite of all these renovations, both Hāfiẓ and Showkī are not fully modernised in the European sense of the word. Dr. Muhammad Husain Haikal sees in Showkī a fine combination of the Islamic and Western philosophies.<sup>5</sup> But Dr. Tāha Husain does not agree with Dr. Haikal's argument and wants to give them (Hāfiẓ and Showkī) their due places in the ranks of classical poets. Dr. Tāha rejects the existence of any school of thought or poetical doctrine in the poems of Showkī.<sup>6</sup> He is of the opinion that modern Arabic verse is not even equal to the high standard of the classical poetry on the ground that the modern poets are neither true to the spirit of the classical periods nor fully modernised, as they do not represent the life of the age in which they live. Dr. Tāha traces the cause of the present stagnation of Arabic poetry to lack of knowledge and intellectual inactivity of the poets.<sup>7</sup> He is not wholly mistaken when he says that there is no modernity in Arabic poetry. Yet we find that both Hāfiẓ and Showkī composed poems on the political and social subjects which had inspired the whole nation with fervent national zeal. They had, therefore, interpreted a side of the feelings of their nation. Of course, these poets were not born with a poetic mission. They did not, like the poets of the West, give a message to the world—not even to the Arab world. They indeed did not lead the people but were led by them.

They have, however, prepared a ground for the future advance of Arabic verse. Their efforts have borne fruit and the poets of today have started writing narrative and descriptive poems.<sup>8</sup> The poetical compositions of the latest poets such as: الشكلاجدى<sup>9</sup>, العراق فى مصر<sup>10</sup>, محن و الزمن<sup>11</sup>, هرم خوفو<sup>12</sup>.

1. See Al-Showkiyāt, Vol. I., p. 96.

2. Ibid. p. 135.

3. Ibid. p. 81.

4. See Ibid. p. 67.

5. See Introduction to Al-Showkiyāt, Vol. I.

6. See "Hāfiẓ and Showkī" by Dr. Tāha Husain, p. 13, press, 1933.

7. Ibid. pp. 25, 140, 141.

8. See "شکوی الشیخ الابه" and "تبنی امما" composed by Alzahawi, published in Al-Risālah 1935, pp. 1503, 1544 and see "بنت شیخ الاقیله" composed by Khalil Maṭrān, published in Al-Muktaṭaf, Nov. 1932, p. 23.

9. Composed by Al-Zahawi, see Al-Risālah, 1936, p. 27.

10. " " " see " 1936 p. 347.

11. " Shukri, " see " 1936, p. 749.

12. " " " see " 1936, p. 1108.

فِي قُرْبَىٰ<sup>٤</sup> الْبَازِ وَ الْقَبْرَةِ<sup>٥</sup> غَرِيبٌ فِي بَادِيسٍ<sup>٢</sup> عَاصِفَةٌ دُوْج١ اُوبَةٌ الطَّيَّارِ<sup>٣</sup> imply that they have been written with a definite aim in view. These poems, though imperfect in various ways, have a unity of purpose and a continuity of thought. The best augury, however, for the future of Arabic poetry lies in the fact that these shortcomings are now fully realized. Arab scholars have not only felt them keenly, but they are also organising associations,<sup>6</sup> and holding contests in order to modernise Arabic verse. A group of students have gone so far as to put an end to the classical rhymes and metres. In the year 1936 there was held under the auspices of the Society for the Publicity of General Knowledge in Alexandria a series of lectures on the Modern School of Poetry. Leading poets and scholars took part in it. All of them appealed to the poets to adopt blank verse, to get rid of the fetters of rhymes and metres and to write more epics and lyrical dramas.<sup>7</sup> Whether their appeal will be successful is a matter of conjecture, but the modern tendency is that they want to introduce more European forms into Arabic while preserving the essential characteristics of Arabic verse. The greatest influence which European literature has exerted on Arabian poetry is noticeable in its freeing itself from the bondage of ancient models. Old forms such as odes, elegies, panegyrics and sonnets have not been dropped altogether, but along with them, the poets have turned to natural, philosophical, political and social subjects of common interest. The translation of the *Iliad* has indeed made it possible for the Arab poets to compose narrative poetry in Arabic. These European influences did change the direction of Arabic verse from imitating ancient models to the adoption of new forms and subjects. But the infiltration of European erudition into Arabic poetry assisted in raising the standard of Arabic prose rather than poetry.

## FICTION

IT is in the field of fiction that the European influence on Arabic prose is much more conspicuous. Story-writing as an art did not exist in the Arabic literature before the modern period began. It first appeared in the form of historical novels. The early novels were not perfect so far as their Art is concerned, since they were used as an instrument for educating

1. Composed by Ahmed Rami, see *Al-Risâlah*, 1936, p. 1025.

2. .. Dr. Ibrâhim Nâji, see .. 1935, p. 1627.

3. .. Dr. Zaki Mubârak, see .. 1936, p. 1227.

4. .. Kâmil Kilani, see .. 1936, p. 1227.

5. .. Ahmed Bey Al-Kâshif, see 1936, p. 1024.

6. The Poetry Society held in 1936 a meeting of leading poets in order to renovate Arabic verse and at the same time to preserve its main characteristics. See the Weekly *Al-Risâlah*, 1936, p. 1037 for further details.

7. See *Al-Ahrâm*, Literary Column, September 19 and 20, 1936.

pupils in schools. George Zaidān (1861-1914) produced several works in this field of literature, but as he also probably aimed at educating the public through the medium of novels, his style and language are journalistic rather than literary. As fiction may be called a bridge between journalism and literature, the journalists in an endeavour to widen the circulation of their periodicals and newspapers took to writing stories and serials. But since they had no such fiction in Arabian classic literature to guide them, they translated European romance. It soon attracted the attention of men of letters. These scholars, who knew various European languages, began to translate and enrich Arabic erudition with the masterpieces of French, English, German and Italian literatures. These masterpieces served as a model to those who longed to see their culture raised to the level of European standards. Arabian fiction however did not develop till some enlightened students came forward to lead the way towards artistic story-writing. Manfalūtī in his "العرات" *Al-Zayyāt* in his "ابن الصبيحة" and Al-Mazinī in his "دانييل" and "آدم فتر" established standards for the translation of European romance. These activities continued until a group of scholars led by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal Bey, Taufik Hakim and Al-Mazinī came to turn the activities of the translators into producing fiction of purely Egyptian origin both in substance and style. *Al-Iyyām* الایام written by Dr. Tāha Husain, by ابراهيم الكاتب by Al-Mazinī,<sup>1</sup> ابنة الملوك by Taimūr,<sup>2</sup> and by Abi Ḥadid can fairly be classed as original Egyptian novels. Yet there is much to be done in this new branch of Arabic literature. If there are writers like Dr. Haikal Bey who pays more attention to technique than others, there are others who have not yet mastered the art of characterisation and the relationship of character and plot. Even the materials of their plots do not often represent Egyptian society with its varying modes of living and thinking.

In spite of all these drawbacks, story-writing has helped to make literary Arabic capable of expressing conceptions of all sorts. No less significant part has been played by fiction in improving the style of Arabic prose. It is now possible to apply the quotation "the style is the man" to Arabic writers with still greater precision. Modern Arabic style is not merely a particular expression of Ibn-al-Muḳaffa', Jāhīz or Ibn-al-'Amīd, but an exposition of the writers' personality. None can misunderstand the person of Dr. Tāha Husain, as it is manifested in his extraordinary command of language, attractive way of expressing a single idea in various forms until the meaning is carried home, and the European phrases and conceptions so remoulded in simple and clear Arabic that they become

1. See his short stories and serials in *Al-Risālah*, 1936, pp. 1647, 1503, 1404, 1323, 1273, 1206 and also in *Al-Risālah* 1935; *Majallītī*, March 15, 1935, p. 793.

2. See his short stories in *Majallītī*, May 1, 1935, p. 1225 and *Al-Ma'rifa*, Feb. 1933, p. 1243.

part and parcel of the Arabic language. None can mistake likewise the serious, logical and penetrative nature of Prof. Ahmad Amin, when it is marked in his precise, correct and balanced sentences. Similarly Al-Mazini is known by a touch of humour and Dr. Haikal and Taufik Hakim<sup>1</sup> by a philosophical trend of mind. All these different styles lead us to conclude that Arabic writing has advanced and is successfully proceeding towards higher stages of perfection.

## COMPARATIVE AND ANALYTICAL STUDY

THERE is another aspect of Arabic prose worthy of our consideration. The theory that Arabic literature should be studied both by scientific and artistic principles, which was originally advocated by Dr. Taha Husain seems to have gained momentum. Egyptian men of letters have recently started comparative and analytical study of Arabic works.<sup>2</sup> Analysis of literary activities of the Arabs in the light of the intellectual tendencies of the West, and the comparison of Arab poets and writers with French and English, have produced a world of possibilities which had remained undiscovered. Dr. Taha Husain in his " حدیث الشعر و النشر " compares Arab poets with one another and points out the high place which Arabic literature occupies in the classics of the world. His *Al-Adab-al-Jāhilī* الادب الجاهلي is another scientific exposition of pre-Islamic mind. Another eminent scholar Prof. Ahmad Amin in his *Fajrul Islām* and *Duhal Islām* has analysed the intellectual activities of the Arabs from the beginning to the Abbasid period. Such examples are numerous indeed in modern Arabic, but the works written on the life of the Prophet Muhammad deserve our special notice, as they indicate how extensive is the scope of writing on this new element in the language. So far the biographies of the Prophet consisted of recording events connected with his life in chronological order. Examination of the various sides of a particular character from different angles of vision was non-existent in Arabic. It is only with the advent of this new era in prose that the psychological analysis of leaders of thought has started. Dr. Haikal has initiated this kind of study. His work, *The Life of Muhammad* ( حیات محمد ) is not only a biography, but it also presents the author's philosophical point of view. Toufik Hakim, on the other hand, tries to portray the life of the Prophet as a dramatist does. Here is Abdul Rahmān Bey Al-'Azzām, who delineates the characters of his great Hero (see his work *Hero of Heroes*

1. See Taufik Hakim's short stories in *Al-thakafa*, Jan. 31, 1939, and *Majalliti*, May 1, 1935, 15th March 1935, 1st Jan. 1935. See also stories of Darini Khashba, M. Shawkat-al-Toni and M. Al-Badawi in *Al-Risāla*, 1933-1935.

2. See Fakhri Abū-al-Sa'ood's articles on the comparative study of Arabic and English literatures in *Al-Risālah*, 1935-1936.

( بطل الابطال ) in the light of the circumstances which surrounded the Prophet.

To these tendencies of comparative and analytical study, may be added the recent attempts of writers directed to the creation of original works. 'Abbās Maḥmūd Al-Akkād's *Raj'at-u-Abī-al 'Alāi* (رجمة ابن العلاء), and *Ibn-al-Rūmī, his Life derived from his own Verses* (ابن الرومي و حياته) and Maḥmūd Shākir's treatise on Al-Mutanabbi<sup>1</sup> are a few examples which prove how their authors are really striving after the creation of something original. These scholars have not only depicted the lives of the poets, but have also offered solutions of the complicated problems involved in their careers. Maḥmūd Shākir's thesis on Al-Mutanabbi, for instance, is not only original but also reactionary. In this work he has shown the falseness of the idea that Al-Mutanabbi was the son of a water-drawer (see *Al-Mukṭataf*, 1st Jan. 1936, p. 21). On the contrary, he has proved that Al-Mutanabbi belongs to the 'Alawī branch of the Syyed family and that the poet was in love with Saifud Dowla's sister. (*Ibid.* p. 130-134). These are some of the theories of Maḥmūd Shākir which have upset all the established traditions concerning the poet's life.

Such writings have also given an incentive to energetic critics who have produced an enormous literature on these new works, poets and their poetics. Their activities are so much intensified that it seems as if the nation has thrown all its weight into the literary revival. The literary efforts which were once a side issue of 'Abduh's movement have now come to the forefront. Both Governmental and private associations have been organised in order to encourage writers on the one hand and to satisfy the public demand on the other. There is an association of University Professors<sup>2</sup> and other scholars, which not only publishes and translates works of highly literary character but also compiles series of books on science, philosophy, history, etc., just like the Penguin and Home University Library publications with a view to educate the public.<sup>3</sup> University graduates also have Unions for reviving, renovating and raising the standard of Arabic literature.<sup>4</sup> These activities have been growing with still greater rapidity since the Egyptian ministry of education and the film company of the Egyptian Bank have undertaken to distribute valuable prizes in order to encourage the art of letters.<sup>5</sup> The patronizing efforts of the Egyptian Government have not stopped here. They have proceeded and their efforts have been crowned by the establishment of a Royal Philological Academy (1932).

1. See *Al-Mukṭataf*, 1st Jan. 1936.

2. It was established in the year 1914. See *نادٍ للكتب لجنة الكاتب والترجمة والنشر* published in 1936.

3. See further details in *Al-Risālah*, Feb. 3, 1936 p. 196.

4. *Ibid.* p. 1037 and p. 2034.

5. See *Al-Risālah* 1936, p. 35 and 519.

## REFORM OF ARABIC LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

THE aims involved in the establishment of the above-mentioned Academy are :—

(1) To preserve the main characteristics of the Arabic language, while making it capable of expressing every subject of Art or Science, so as to satisfy the needs of our day.

(2) To turn foreign and spoken idioms into proper Arabicised forms if Arabic equivalents are not found after making an exhaustive enquiry into them.

(3) To compile and publish glossaries of terms of science, art, literature, etc., to prepare later an extensive dictionary comprising all the words along with their different shades of meaning and history of their development, and to make scientific research into the dialects of modern Arabic spoken in the illiterate quarters of Egypt and Arab countries.<sup>1</sup>

This Academy consists of eleven sub-committees which deal with the formulation of principles of grammar and modern dialect and the terms of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, sociology, philosophy, literature, fine arts, etc.<sup>2</sup> The researches of its members are published in its own magazine after having been approved by the executive council of the Academy. When the first volume (1934) of its magazine appeared, both the public and the scholars turned against it. The fault they found with the members of the Academy was that they revived dead and unfamiliar words which did not correspond to the modern literary taste of Egyptian society. So far as the terms of science and art are concerned, the people were reticent about them. But the words dealing with social affairs and common interest had become a matter of severe objection. The Egyptian social circles refused to use the new words coined by the Academy in the place of the spoken idioms, on the ground that the latter became familiar and current long before the Academy was founded.

As a matter of fact, the controversy between the spoken idiom and the literary language has been carried on from a long time. It started since the day when the movement for reforming the Arabic language began. With the decay of Arab power and civilization, a divergence between the Arabic spoken in the rural districts and the grammatical forms used by the literate class in the town had appeared. As time passed, the spoken dialect, which had considerably deviated from literary grammatical form, began to prevail and to taint the literary language with its own degeneracy. But when Arab nationalism grew strong, the people realized that the spoken dialect, different as it was in different parts of the Arab countries, would have struck a severe blow to the unity of the Arab nation and would

1. See the magazine of the Royal Academy of the Arabic language *مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية الملكي*, Vol. I. Bulâk Press, 1935, p. 22.

2. Ibid. p. 29-33.

have eventually severed their relation with the historical and literary legacy of their ancestors. Besides this, the introduction of Western sciences with their unfamiliar terminology had begun to tax the resources of the Arabic language. These two factors roused the scholars and put them to the task of reforming the language.

The first organised attempt<sup>1</sup> in this direction was made by the Arabic Academy of Damascus under the wise guidance of the famous scholar Kurd 'Ali Beyin 1919.<sup>2</sup> This Academy used to convene its meetings every week in order to select words and correct the grammatical mistakes prevalent in those days. As the scope of its influence was limited, the necessity of founding a greater academy was felt by the Egyptians. The Egyptian Royal Academy of Arabic language was established (1932) after a good many years of expectation.

When it opened its first session in 1934, and its researches appeared in its magazine (1935), the Egyptian people found themselves divided into two groups as to its deliberations. One of the groups asserts that the function of the Academy is not to invent words and thrust them into public usage. Nor is it its task to correct the spoken dialect and revive dead and forgotten words instead. The chief purpose of the Academy, in their opinion, is to record what the nation has already Arabicised and to find out the equivalents of the foreign words and conceptions which have taken no form whatever in the Arabic language so far.<sup>3</sup> But the supporters of the Academy contend that if the use of foreign words is not checked in due time, they will not only overcrowd but also destroy the characteristics of the Arabic language. They further argue that the spoken idiom is unscientific and ungrammatical; it should, therefore, be brought under some classical pattern of grammatical rules. While this controversy is going on, the Academy is hopefully busy in extending the application of the grammatical rules, in expanding the meaning of certain words of the literary Arabic if this expansion does not impair their original notions, and in formulating rules for the Arabicisation of foreign words.

Side by side with the reform of language, a movement for reforming Arabic grammar and rhetoric has also come to the forefront. The students of grammar have begun to point out that Arabic syntax and grammar as they are being taught in the schools and colleges today are defective. A student, they say, who has studied Al-Nāhv (syntax) in Al-Azhar for more than ten years, is very often unable to read and write correctly.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Arabic syntax deals with the different pronunciations, different dialects

1. As to the individual efforts regarding the supply of Arabic words in the place of foreign ones, see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1921, p. 251-254.

2. See *Al-Ma'rifa*, October, 1932. p. 738.

3. See its further details in the pamphlet *ابدعة الاولى في اصلاح اللغة العربية*, published by a prof. of the school of Dārul-'Ulūm in Cairo. See further *Al-Risālah*, 1936. p. 82.

4. See *Al-Risālah*, 1935 p. 9 and 1936, p. 1249 and the articles by Muṣṭafa Jawād, published in *Al-Ma'rifa*, 1932 and 1933, p. 227.

and various readings of the Holy Qur'ān. Since a layman has nothing to do with the history of different dialects and as he knows only what he uses in daily conversation, why, then, should not the grammar be so re-organised as to regularise the current dialect and standardise it? They further find fault with the stagnancy of the Azharian tradition, which does not allow any freedom in deducing analogies from classical literature. They are, therefore, of the opinion that students should be left free to conduct research in classical literature with a view to find out wider applications of grammatical rules and principles.<sup>1</sup> Similar tendencies are noticed in their endeavours to reorganise Arabic rhetoric.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, the factors which have led to the modernisation of Arabic literature are : (1) the rapid growth of education, (2) translation of European works and (3) the rapid development of journalism. As the movement of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh had created a congenial atmosphere for literary revival, Arabic writing has developed and achieved a considerably high standard. The activities which were directed towards the critical study of Arabic literature and its history by the professors of the new Egyptian University, the members of Dr. Haikal's circles and by Dr. Tāha Husain have reached their full development since the controversy between the old and new schools has ceased. Although poetry is still lagging behind advanced prose in the literary race, yet new forms and subjects have been introduced into both poetry and prose. As to the movements proceeding to reform the Arabic language, grammar and rhetoric, the Egyptian literary and social circles are still divided into the supporters and opponents of the reformation.

Briefly speaking, whatever the tendencies of the Arab peoples may be as to the advancement of the whole of Arabic literature, I, for my own part, believe that the development or degeneration of any literature is closely related with the culture and civilization of the people whom it represents. If a nation reaches a civilized stage its literature also indicates a standard corresponding to the progress of its people, and as marked progress is clearly noticeable in almost all sides of Arab culture and Egyptian civilization, it is not therefore mere hope to say that Arabic literature is well on the way to achieve the perfection which its all devotees so anxiously desire.

M. A. M. KHAN.

1. See essays of Prof. Muṣṭafa Jawād, published in *Al-Ma'rifa*, 1932 and 1933.

2. See *Al-Hilāl*, 1st January, 1936, p. 265.

## MUSIC IN MUSLIM INDIA

MUSIC has been a subject of controversy among the Muslim jurists. The orthodox school maintains that it has been prohibited, whereas liberal thinkers claim that it has been permitted.<sup>1</sup> Whether Islam prohibited it or not is for theologians to discuss, but it is a fact that Muslims have been great lovers of music. Wherever they went, they carried their love of this fine art with them.

Before the advent of the Muslims in India, an Arabo-Iranian music was already in vogue in the Muslim world,<sup>2</sup> and this art was being attended to seriously. The tabor (*daff*), tambourine (*tambūr*), reed-pipe (*na'y*) and lute ('ūd) were the instruments already introduced in music.<sup>3</sup>

With the Muslim soldiers and colonists of Sindh there must have come Muslim musicians to India. Unfortunately history is silent on this point. We only know this much that Muḥammad bin Kāsim (96 A.H.) was greeted with music by the Sumas of Sindh (*Chāchnāma*, Elliot, page 191). Probably it was here in Sindh that Arabo-Iranian music of the Musalmans began to influence the Hindu music and *Naurüz*, *Zangola* and *Hejaz* forms were incorporated by the Indians under the names of *Nurochoka*, *Jangla* and *Hejaj*. Raja Navvāb 'Alī Khān, a notable writer on Indian music, traces the origin of these forms in Hindu music since the time of Naushirawān, but their very names betray that they came through Muslim channels, and at a time when Iran had already been Islamised.

The advent of Khawāja Mu'inuddin Chishtī (588 A.H.) and the popularity of the *Chishti* order supplied a platform for the free contact of Islamic and Hindu music. Khawāja was popular both with Hindus and Musalmans, and music was almost a tenet of faith with the followers of the *Chishti* order. Khawāja's band of *Kavvāls* sang every evening.<sup>4</sup> This movement greatly encouraged the spread of music, though the

1. A learned monograph on this subject was published by Maulānā Ahmad Mukarram Chiriaikoti. The author tried to prove on the authority of historical facts and celebrated Muslim divines that music was not forbidden by *Shari'at*.

2. *Kitāb ul-Aghāni* (Vol. I, page 1815) reports that Ibn Muhriz, the son of an Iranian captive, combined Arab and Iranian melodies, and fixed and settled the rules. He taught the Arabs the use of the lute.

3. De Goeje, *Frag. Hist. Arab.*, Vol. I, page 40.

4. *Siyar ul-Aqtāb*, page 103.

orthodox class tried to suppress it.

The popularity of music had a set-back with the establishment of the Slave dynasty. When Shamsuddin Iltutmish came to power a ban on music was ordered under the influence of Kādīs 'Imād, Sa'duddin and Min-hāj Sirāj and Kādī Sādik.<sup>1</sup> The officials were vigilant enough to prosecute those who indulged in it. But soon afterwards Kādī Hamiduddin Nāgori was deputed to Delhi to propagate the Chishti order. His arrival at the Capital encouraged the Muslims to take interest in music. State officials came forward to prosecute the Kādī. The Sultān himself tried the Kādī, who in his statement asserted that music might be prohibited for wordly people (*ahl-i-qāl*) but not for the devoted ones (*ahl-i-hāl*). Further he alluded to that music party at Baghdād where the Sultān, when a slave, served as a light-burner, before coming to the throne of Delhi. This statement is said to have influenced the opinion of the Sultān, who withdrew the ban. Since then musical soirees were organised for durbars<sup>2</sup> and people began to indulge in them publicly.

The son and successor of Iltutmish, namely Ruknuddin Firūz, was a great lover of music<sup>3</sup> and his durbar became a centre of celebrated musicians and dancers of both sexes.

In spite of the royal patronage of music, the orthodox class continued its vehement opposition. With the accession of Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, we find some lessening of this hostility. When the Sultān recovered from a serious ailment, he ordered a public feast accompanied by music throughout his Empire.<sup>4</sup> Celebrated musicians and singers graced his court.<sup>5</sup> It was during the reign of this Sultān that Amir Khusrau, the great poet and musician of Mediæval India, came into prominence. The Amīr lived until the early years of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, and his contribution to Indian music needs particular attention. Some biographers of Khusrau assert that he also wrote a treatise on that fascinating science. If he did really write such a treatise, it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us, for a book on that subject would have supplied very valuable information on the development of Indian music. The Amīr himself contributed much towards the fusion of the Iranian and Indian systems of music. He gives us only fragmentary and incidental accounts in his numerous works. In *Nuh Sipihr*<sup>6</sup> he says "Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners even after a stay of thirty or forty years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly. Indian music charms not only men but beasts also. Deer have been hypnotised and hunted simply by music!" In another work, while speaking of his own achievements in music,

1. *Siyar-ul-Awtāb*, pages 146-160.

2. *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 67 (pers. text).

3. *Tārikh Mubārakshāhi*, page 21 and *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 67.

4. *Tārikh Mubārakshāhi*, page 41.

5. *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 76.

6. Third *Sipihr*, Buhar Lib., Calcutta MS.

and referring to a musical competition with a celebrated musician of his time, Gopāl Nā'ik, he says,<sup>1</sup> that he could defeat his opponent proving his own mastery of both poetry and music ; that he had already composed three volumes of poetry, and if he were to write on music, he could have composed three volumes on that science too. In his *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*<sup>2</sup> he gives interesting details about contemporary musicians, and the musical instruments, and mentions Muhammad Shāh, Kunjashk, Khalifa Husainī Akhlāk and Turmatī Khātūn. The latter was introduced to the royal court through Amīr's influence. She was, subsequently placed in charge of all the Iranian and Indian Court musicians. *Paikan*, 'ajab-rud, chuhra (?), duhul, chang, rabāb, daff, nay, tanbur, dastak, dastan, shahnāī, bablik, damsarfi (?) and batīra are some of the instruments mentioned by the Amīr and used in his time.

Tradition has credited Khusrau with the invention of several new melodies compounded of Iranian and Indian tunes. That he had thoroughly studied the science of music, is abundantly clear from his writings. He seems to have been quite familiar with the Iranian system and to have mastered all its intricacies.<sup>3</sup> He also knew the Indian system well.<sup>4</sup> Musical contests appear to have been a favourite pastime of his day, and apparently he took a keen interest and active part in them.<sup>5</sup> It is quite reasonable, therefore, to believe that he made some attempts to combine the Iranian and Indian systems, and to evolve new melodies characteristic of the Indo-Muslim culture of India. It is difficult to determine exactly the modifications introduced by him. According to *Ragdarpan*<sup>6</sup>—an old work in Persian on Indian music, supposed to have been a translation of an older work, under the patronage of Raja Mansingh during the reign of Akbar, Khusrau had invented the following new melodies, *Mujīr*, *sāzgārī*, *aiman*, *'ushshāk*, *muwāfik*, *ghazan*, *zilaf*, *farghāna*, *sarparda*, *bakhāra*, *firodast*, *mun'am* (ā), *kaul*, *tarāna*, *khayāl*, *nigār*, *basit*, *shahāna*, and *suhila*. Wājid 'Ali Shāh<sup>7</sup> describes Khusrau as *naik* of *khayāl* as opposed to that of *Dhrupad*, and his deciples as " *Khayālis*." According to him Khusrau invented the tunes known as *tarāna*, *chhand*, *parband*, *gīt*, *kaul*, *kilbanah*, *naksh* and *gul*. Thus we find that he could not become popular with the supporters of the classical system, and his independence led to the rise of a schismatic school.

During Balban's reign, Multan also became a centre of music. Firishta<sup>8</sup> reports that accomplished *Kavāls* were present there in those days.

1. *Ghurratul Kamāl* (Br. Mus. MS. 21104, F. 314).

2. Also called *Rasā'il-i-I'jāz*, Second Chapter or *risāla* (Nawal Kishore Ed.).

3. Kirānus-Sa'dain, page 163, *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, Chapter (*risāla*) II, page 280.

4. Ibid. page 288, and *Nuh Sipihar*.

5. *I'jāz*, Chapter II, page 180, where the author mentions the arrival of the musicians from *Khorāsān*, and invites Indian musicians to compete with them.

6. Cf. *Shiblī*, *Sh'irul 'Ajam*.

7. *Sautul-Mubārak*, page 42. See also Ā'in-i- Akbarī, text II, 138-139.

8. Firishta, Vol. II, page 406.

One 'Abdulla, a famous singer of Turkey, came there and began to enliven the assemblies of Sheikh Bahāuddīn Zakariya.

During Kaikubād's reign, music became the order of the day.<sup>1</sup> Amīr Khusrāu has given us vivid descriptions of some of the royal assemblies in his *Kirānus-Sa'dain*, and we notice the importance and popularity of music everywhere.

Jalāluddīn Khaljī proved no less a patron of music. Amīr Khusrāu writes,<sup>2</sup> "The King was not without the pleasure of music. Sometimes he listened to the verses of my companions, and sometimes sought new and fresh melodies from the musicians. On one side, I sang the praises of the generous, and on the other the skilful Muhammad Shāh intoxicated the senses with his musical performances." Maulānā Zīāuddīn Barānī<sup>3</sup> heaves deep sighs after recollecting in his old age the memory of Jalālī durbars, where musicians like Muhammad Shah Changī, Futūhā, daughter of Kafāī, Nusrat Khātūn and Mehr Afrūz played.

During 'Alāuddīn's reign the presence of Sheikh Niẓāmuddīn Awliyā at Delhi helped the cause of music. There was no quarter in the City where after twenty days or a month there was no gathering of devotees listening to Sufist music and weeping in ecstasy.<sup>4</sup> The King himself was a great patron of music. Malik Kāfūr invaded southern India and carried a prominent golden idol, as booty of war, to Delhi, from the temple of Koyilolahu. The priests of the temples when informed that the idol was not destroyed but preserved in the Imperial storehouse, approached the Sultān, secured audience, and displayed their skill in music and dancing. The Sultān was highly pleased with their performances and promised them rich rewards. The priests begged for the idol as thier reward and were given it.<sup>5</sup>

At this period we find that timbrels were favourite instruments of music, but the *Mazāmir* was in great disfavour, and Sheikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā disapproved its use.<sup>6</sup>

Mubārak Khaljī also does not seem to have neglected music. *Nuh Sipihar*<sup>7</sup> records a *jashn* at the birth of his heir-apparent when beautiful dancing girls, Iranian and Indian, displayed their skill.

With the accession of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlak, the orthodox again got the upperhand, and music was banned. The puritan monarch looked askance at the musical parties held at Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliya's monastery. Jealous Sheikhs represented to the monarch that music was absolutely

1. Badā'uni, Vol. I, pages 158 and 161.

2. *Miftāḥul Futūh*, (India Office Lib. MS. 1186).

3. Barānī's *Firuz Shāhi*, pages 199-209.

4. *Ibid.* p. 343

5. This information is supplied by Professor S. K. Aiyangar in his 'South-India and her Muhammadan Invaders,' page 116, on the authority of a book called *Koyiloluha* which deals with all benefactories made to this temple at Srirangam.

6. *Afdal-ul-fawā'id* of Khusrāu.

7. The Seventh *Sipihar* of *Nuh Sipihar*.

prohibited by the law of Islam. The King one day asked Nizāmuddīn Auliyā to explain his conduct and justify himself in the presence of divines and 'ulema. The Saint carried himself bravely and successfully through the ordeal, and Tughlak Shāh had to let him go free, although he was not quite satisfied with the arguments advanced by the Saint.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately the hostility against music did not continue long. With the accession of Muhammād bin-Tughlak a sovereign learned enough to interpret Muslim laws himself, a musical entertainment composed of both males and females is said to have been instituted for the royal durbar. A respectable official named Amīr Shamsuddin Tabrizī was designated as *Dāroghai Arbāb Nishāt* and was placed in charge of this concert. Muhammād had twelve musicians in his regular service. There were one thousand slave musicians besides.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally a *nautch* was held at the Imperial palace. Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions one held on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor's sister.<sup>3</sup> While speaking of Delhi of Muhammād's time Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions of *Hauz Khāṣ*. He found a number of musicians living in the pavilions around the *Hauz*. He was told that the female singers living there recited the congregational prayers (*tarāvīh*) during the month of Ramaḍān in an adjacent mosque. Female Imāms conducted those prayers where only female musicians prayed.<sup>4</sup> But we find that the profession of music was looked down upon by the general public. When Muhammād promoted a meritorious son of a musician to a high office, Barānī condemned his action as encouragement to low-born people and *muṭrib* *bachas*.

The Deccan had been a noted seat of music since the Hindu period. Muhammād's transfer of the capital to Daulatabad added an impetus. Ibn Baṭūṭa<sup>5</sup> reports that Daulatabad had a quarter named *Tarabābād*. There were shops on both sides of the road. Every shop had a house at the back, to which there was an opening on the side lane. The shops were well furnished, and a cradle hung there, on which musician girls sat finely dressed. There was a tower in the central place of the bazar. The *chowdhri* of the musicians came every Thursday after 'Aṣr prayers. All the musicians of the quarters, both male and female, came and paid their respects to the *chowdhri*, by displaying their skill. Such ceremony continued till sunset when the *chowdhri* left the place.

Muhammād's successor, Firūz, though an orthodox and puritan in outlook, was not averse to music. His accession to the throne was celebrated by entertaining the public for twenty-one days with music.<sup>6</sup>

1. *Firishta*, Vol. II, page 397.

2. *Quatremere*, *Notices des manuscripts*, XII, page 185.

3. Ibn-Baṭūṭa, *De-set-Sang* Ed.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III.

5. *Ibid.*

6. See 'Afīf.

Badāūnī reports<sup>1</sup> that Firūz while proceeding towards Kangra picked up a number of valuable books from Jawala Mukhi temple, some of which were on the science of music and the dance. They were all translated into Persian at the instance of Firūz Shāh.

Saiyids who came to power after the fall of the Tughlaks do not appear to have neglected music. Mubārak Shāh, the well-known Saiyid king of Delhi, was noted for his love of music.<sup>2</sup>

Later the rise of the Mahdavī movement was responsible for a check to the popularity of music.<sup>3</sup> About the interest taken by the Lodis we have little information. The early Sūrs had to be cautious. They had to take a hypocritical attitude. Publicly it was banned, but the Makhdūmul-Mulk, the head of the religious department, was notorious for indulging in music but took pains to keep it secret.<sup>4</sup> But this state of affairs could not continue long. With the accession of Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil Sūr, nicknamed 'Ādli, music became the order of the day.<sup>5</sup> The King was a master of music. Tansein, the celebrated musician of Akbar's Court, and Bāz Bahādur bin Sazāwla Khān, another distinguished musician, claimed to have received lessons from him in music. He freely entered into competition with his contemporary musicians, and came out successful. He paid considerable attention to this science and tutored a set of students in this art. Badāūnī has accused him of neglecting state duties because of his excessive interest in music.<sup>6</sup>

With the Timūrids probably came the Imperial music (*naubat*) which consisted of drums, hautboys, and trumpets played by musicians sitting in the upper storey of the main gate, called *Nakār Khāna*. It was a mark of sovereignty, and also served to announce some good news. Apparently the orthodox class did not object to it, as we find later that even Aurangzēb who revived the ban upon music, permitted it.

During the reign of Bābar and Humāyūn, the first two Timūrids, even the ladies of the royal house played music accompanied by instruments.<sup>7</sup> *Sheikh Khoran* was a celebrated musician of India, who flourished during the reign of Bābar.<sup>8</sup> Bairam Khān, the well-known official and grandee of Humāyun's court, was noted for his skill in music.<sup>9</sup> Another celebrated musician, also a well-known poet, is Haidar Tūniyai.<sup>9</sup>

Unorthodox Akbar was himself a student of music, and patronised this science most liberally. Abul Faḍl writes : " Indian, Iranian, Turanian

1. Badāūnī, Vol. I, page 249.

2. *Tārikh Mubārak Shāhi*, page 211.

3. *Sheikh Mubārak*, an admirer of the founder of the Mahdavī movement and his detestation of music make an interesting reading. See *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. I, page 199.

4. Badāūnī, page 401.

5. Ibid, page 434. *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. I, page 108.

6. Badāūnī, page 418.

7. *Humāyun Nāma* by Gulbadan Begum.

8. Badāūnī, Vol. I, page 337.

9. Ibid. Vol. I, page 480.

and Kashmirian musicians of both sexes were engaged in the Imperial service, and they were grouped into seven. Each group played and displayed its skill on some particular day of the week. Abul Fadl has enumerated more than forty names of Hindu and Muslim musicians of the period, and refers to their contributions to this fine art. The celebrated Tansein was of course the chief of the age.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to say whether it is flattery or fact, but the court historian reports that Akbar was himself conversant with music and composed two hundred new modes which were the delight of hearers. The most excellent were the *Jalāl Shāhī*, the *Mehameer Kurget* and *Naurūzī*.<sup>2</sup>

Cultured *Jehāngīr* continued the patronage of music, and musicians received liberal gifts and rewards on all ceremonial occasions, when their display of skill added life to festivities.<sup>3</sup>

*Shāh Jehān*, though he pretended to some amount of orthodoxy and tried to reform some of the irreligious ways in court-life, left music undisturbed. Indeed, he took care to patronise it. On all ceremonials such as at anniversaries of a royal birth or the *Naurūz* festival, 'fairy-like beautiful and rose-cheeked dancing girls enchanted the audience with their music, dancing and playing on the *daf* and *chang*'.<sup>4</sup> In 1046 Hijri, the marriage of Prince Aurangzib was settled with the daughter of *Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Khān*, and *Shāh Jehān* was pleased to sanction the payment of ten lacs of rupees to the prince. The marriage was celebrated in *Dhil-hijja* with great pomp and grandeur. The prince did not appear to have developed puritanism at the time, because musical parties and dancing added to the interest of the celebration.<sup>5</sup>

The popularity of music had a definite set-back during the reign of Aurangzib. The King was not hostile to music till the fourth year of his reign, because we find evidence of musicians taking part till then in court festivities and ceremonies.<sup>6</sup>

*Sheikh 'Isā* of Burhanpur and *Mīr Murtada* of Multan were vehement in their protests against music.<sup>7</sup> The King, who was already under the influence of *Mujaddid Alf Thāni*'s movement, yielded to the orthodox demand, and dismissed all musicians from his court.<sup>8</sup> The musicians thrown out of employment took out in procession an effigy representing music, in a coffin, for burial. The procession paraded through the principal streets of the capital, its followers simulating lamentation. The Emperor happened to see it and was informed that music being dead, musicians were carrying the corpse to the grave. The cold Emperor

1. *A'in-i-Akbarī*, page 263, (pers. text, Asiatic Society Ed.).

2. *Ibid.*, page 47.

3. *Khāfi Khān*, page 323.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, page 399.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, page 543.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 125.

7. *Khāfi-Khān*, Vol. III, pages 556 and 561.

8. *Ibid.*, and *Siyar*, Vol. IV, page 139 (Eng. translation).

remarked, 'And so they may, but let them take care lest, contrary to the law of God, the dead should move in the grave or pretend to speak or sing.'

This ban led to a good deal of controversy throughout Muslim India, and we find numerous books written at this period about the legality of music. Diyānat Khān, a grandee of the court, wrote several treatises on the lawfulness of music.<sup>1</sup>

The success of orthodoxy was short lived. After Aurangzib, Bahādur Shāh came to power. He loved music, and once asked the Dutch to display their performances before him. Three Dutch musicians are said to have played at night in the royal court, on the violin, harp and hautboy, before His Majesty and the royal ladies, who were seated behind a curtain.<sup>2</sup> One Sharfuddin of Burhānpūr was noted for his skill in music throughout India at this period.<sup>3</sup>

During the sovereignty of Jehāndār Shāh, the musicians and dancers were not only liked and loved by the Emperor but they were raised to *mansabs*.<sup>4</sup>

Jehāndār Shāh was succeeded by Farrukh Siyar. We do not know much about his interest in music. His minister Syed 'Abdullah enjoyed music and dances publicly and patronised those who sang the praise of *Ahl-e-bait*.<sup>5</sup> But the *ulema* were again averse to music. It is reported that the *ulema* of Lahore were inimical towards Muhammād Salīm Šābirī—a Sūfi, only on account of his love for music. Even in the Deccan we find Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Wali holding musical parties, but within closed doors.

Muhammād Shāh took keen interest in music. The Kashmiri School of music under Lal Mian made a great name at this period. This school supplied musicians and dancing girls to the grandee of the State at fabulously high salaries.<sup>6</sup> When Nādir Shāh invaded India, music was in demand in polished and cultured circles. The invader himself enjoyed the dances and songs of celebrated musicians. One Indian dancing girl, Nurbai, so much fascinated him through her musical performances that he ordered her to be paid four thousand rupees, and directed that she should be taken in his train to Iran. It was with the greatest difficulty that she could save herself from this last mark of favour.<sup>7</sup>

Not only the central Government, but other provincial and independent Muslim States took keen interest in music and patronised it. Since the days of Muhammād Tughlāk, Daulatabad had become a centre of

1. Rieu has noticed them in his *Supplementary Cat.*, page 114.

2. Diary of Erutcoenraad Graaf, see *Later Mughals*, Vol. I by W. Irvine.

3. Khāṣi Khān, Vol. II, page 667.

4. Ibid., Vol. II, page 689.

5. Siyar, Vol. I, page 21, (Cal. Ed.).

6. Ibid., Vol. II, page 293 (Eng. tr.).

music.<sup>1</sup> The tradition was well continued by the Bahmanid Muslim dynasty. Alā'uddin Bahman Shāh is said to have brought one thousand *murlis* (dancing girls) from a Hindu temple of the Carnatic when the latter was conquered by the King.<sup>2</sup>

In the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani (whom Firishta wrongly calls Mahmūd Shāh) three hundred celebrated musicians well known for their singing the poems of Amīr Khusrau and Mīr Hasan, visited Ahsanabad, and received generous patronage from the Sultān.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn of the same dynasty is said to have been murdered because of his admiration of a beauty skilled in music.<sup>4</sup> Firuz Shāh Bahmani was noted for his piety. 'He was guilty of no offence against the rules of religion but listening to music.' He suffered it as 'music lifted his mind to contemplate the divinity'.<sup>5</sup> The same Sultān, while treating with the Rāja of Vijaynagar, embodied one clause in the treaty to the effect that the Rāja would offer 'two thousand male and female slaves accomplished in singing and dancing'.<sup>6</sup>

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur is said to have written a well-known book on music, called *Nauras*. The celebrated poet Zahūrī wrote an introduction to this work.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly Sultān Muhammad II in Gujarat<sup>8</sup> and Sultān Husain Sharkī in Jaunpur have been mentioned in books of history as ardent patrons of music. and as musicians.

After the break-up of the Timūrid power, the Navvābs of Oudh came forward to save the Indo-Muslim culture from decay. Music was not neglected. Navvāb Āṣafuddaulah of Lucknow was a great patron of music. We are to note here that the State religion was Shī'a, which did not permit any ambiguous interpretation of the laws of music. Consequently the Shī'ite ulema unanimously tabooed it. Still the will of the rulers and the nature of mankind had their own way. In spite of the opposition from the ulema, the court influence had a success among the masses, who soon found an excuse and an outward legal form for it. *Merthias* were recited

1. Vijyanagar, the neighbouring Hindu State, was also a noted seat of learning. Maulānā Kamāluddin Abdur Razzāk who visited India in 845 A.D. records in his *Maṭla'us-sa'dain*, that there was a large number of girls skilled in music. The quarters of these girls were to be noticed near each gate of the city. For the proper education of women of the royal palace, in this fine art, on the walls of halls different poses of dance were engraved and portrayed. The designs of those panels showed the positions at the end of dances. This was to teach the women so that if they forgot the position in which they had to remain, they might look at one of the panels where the end of the dance was depicted. (*Narrative of Pae's Foreign Empire*, by Sewell, page 289).

2. Scott's tr. of Firishta, page 12.

3. Ibid., page 23.

4. Ibid., page 63.

5. Ibid., page 69.

6. Ibid., page 86.

7. *Basātinus-Salātin*, pp. 249-50.

8. *Mir'at Sikandarī*, page 268.

in commemoration of the historical tragedy of Karbala. Musicians under state patronage made the *merthia* a vehicle to popularise music. They began to sing poetical lines of *merthia*. It had soon its desired effect and the music in the form of *soz* and *nauha*, became the order of the day with the Shī'ah masses. Then came the celebrated lover of culture and refinement, Wājīd 'Alī Shāh. His musicians were responsible for the introduction of *Tappah* and *Thumri* in music. How far this contribution was an improvement is a matter of controversy and people hold opposed opinions.<sup>1</sup>

In Bengal, though we find 'Alīverdī Khān taking no interest in music, still with his successors, Sirajuddaulah, Mīr Ja'far, Mīr Kāsim and all the grandees of the State, music was the principal source of amusement. The interest in music and dance was carried even to the camps of war and often at the expense of official duties!<sup>2</sup> In recent decades, since the rise of the Faraidī movement<sup>3</sup> in the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., music has been completely stamped out from Eastern Bengal. But in Western Bengal Murshidabad still displays its old interest in music, and boasts of some excellent musicians.

In a word, the Musalmans displayed such zeal for this fine art that within a few centuries they monopolised it, and today in almost all the noted durbars of Indian States which have survived down to our own time, musicians in service are mostly Muslims. A casual observer might even be tempted to think it an art of the Musalmans only.

S. N. HAIDAR RIZVI.

1. *Guzashītā Lucknow* by Maulānā Abdūl Halīm Sharar, gives a contemporary and detailed account.

2. *Siyar*, Vol. I, (pers. text), page 221, Cat. Ed.

3. Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal for 1896 and 98, article by Mr. J. P. Wise.

# TWO HISTORICAL LETTERS OF THE GREAT ĀṢAF JĀH I

## I

LETTER FROM NIZĀM-UL-MULK ĀṢAF JĀH I TO SAWAI JAI SINGH II  
OF JAIPUR

(Āṣaf Jāh protests his loyalty to the Delhi throne)

FORMERLY you repeatedly wrote to me about the increase of your dignity and that of the Maharanaji, and about the spreading of the Marathas and their plundering of the countries of Rāmpurā and Khādaoda and their arrival on the frontier of Bundi and Kotā, near your own territory. These misguided people have spread through the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, and the harm and loss that they have inflicted on the peasantry are too well known to need my writing about it. It has been reported to the Emperor that these people raid Gujarat and Malwa at my suggestion and instigation. The Emperor has repeatedly sent me his royal letters to prevent this.

All the necessary exertion in this matter I have performed. And I have again and again written to Sāhū (Rājah) giving him the counsel that it was not good that the Marathas should go out to plunder the countries of Malwa and Gujarat, but that it was displeasing to the Emperor —so that Sāhū should urge his troops not to cross the Narmada. Although he was thus pressed and threatened, nothing at all resulted from it, and the soldiers of Sāhū, who do not listen to his words nor are under anybody's control, did not give up their raids.

Therefore, with a view to carrying out the Emperor's order, pleasing you my friend, and increasing your power and that of the Maharanaji, I have, with God's help, called to my side Rajah Sambhaji [of Kolhapur] —who is Sāhū's rival—conciliated him and engaged [him] in punishing and destroying Sāhū. Sultanji Rao [Nimbalkar], who was the General (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) of the enemy's army, came and saw me, and was appointed to command Rajah Sambhaji's army. By the grace of God I am hopeful that other partisans of Sāhū will desert him for my side and his party will come to an end according to our heart's desire.

When after my fight with Mubāriz Khān [at Shakarkheda, October 1724], in the course of making a settlement of the Subah of Haidarabad, my army marched towards Chicacole, Bengal being very near that place, all my followers were urging me thus: "Your enemies, out of their selfishness and greed, have made false charges against you to the Emperor, and they are not refraining from their hostility to you and obstruction of

your work. Now is the opportunity ; quickly go to Bengal and seize that province." Many similar steps were suggested to me.

As my sole aim is to be a loyal and devoted servant of His Majesty, I did not admit such a project even to my mind—not to speak of carrying it out.

As at this time autograph letters of the Emperor have repeatedly reached me telling me to chastise Sāhū and solemnly promising and vowing that in every event the imperial troops would be sent to assist me and that His Majesty would not at all allow the mischievous obstruction and false suggestions of my enemies to influence him, I have—solely in order to please the Emperor and silence the tongues of my enemies and put them to shame—taken on my shoulders this grand enterprise, greater than which nothing can, in the estimation of the Emperor, be a proof of my truthfulness, loyalty and devotion. If it were not so, it would be highly inexpedient for me to make a rupture with the Marathas at a time like this. In spite of the fact that in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb and former reigns, the Marathas did not possess so much strength and predominance, what vast amounts of treasure were then spent in the wars between these two sides, and how many high Rajahs, mansabdars paid in cash or by jagir, and war material were employed ! And now that the Marathas have permanently planted their predatory claws in all the imperial territory and their strength and power have increased beyond all limit, I have challenged them to battle solely out of reliance on the grace of God and the Emperor's favour and aid.

## II

### LETTER FROM ĀŞAF JĀH I TO ABDUN NABĪ KHĀN

THE accursed Baji Rao, finding the province of Gujarat unoccupied by defenders, laid siege to Baroda, a city that is in the hands of dispersed<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.*, mutually antagonistic) people.

I reflected that if, God avert it, this rebel got Baroda, it would be a great disgrace and loss, and our work would be ruined while his intrigues would become perpetual in that subah and the ways of the followers of Islam would be completely upset. Therefore, out of the spirit and pride of Islam and fidelity to [the Emperor's] salt, I decided upon this religious duty, that after crossing the Narmada I should engage at full gallop in rooting this dark-natured wretch out, and thus perform the tasks of holy war (*jihād*) in cutting off the roots of disturbance. Immediately on hearing rumours of the approach of the Islamic army by way of Ali Mohan, the wretch, casting off all at once his plans of dominion, withdrew from the siege [of Baroda] and with a view to interposing a long distance between

1. " فَقَهْ مُذْبِهْ " (cf. Persian text) means wicked sect. (Ed., I.C.).

the Islamic army and the rebel horde, in terror of the Muhammadan army, and in utter bewilderment, at midnight quickly crossed the Narmada and entered the limits of the Deccan. Through his short sight, seeing that the Muslim army was very distant from him, he began to disturb the pargana of Ankleswar and plundered and burnt the country, dry and irrigated alike.

Therefore, this follower of Mustafa's precepts [i.e., Asaf Jah] from the ford of Akbarpur, near the fort of Mandu, sent off his baggage and camp with the big guns to Burhanpur, and by favour of the strength and power of God, with great rapidity and in a short time I arrived at Nandurbar; a second time disburdened myself by leaving there other surplus baggage and artillery, which were hindering my rapid marching in spite of their being necessary things, and by forced marches reached the environs of Surat in a few days.

As they hindered the rapidity of our marching, I, for the third time, left all my light guns also, with other belongings, at the village of Kathor [opposite Kamrej]. Our army, making many stages in light kit, arrived near the enemy's horde, after performing great exertions, traversing long distances, and enduring hunger and thirst, owing to the failure of transport animals and porters—because for two or three successive days little food came to hand and we had often to traverse waterless deserts and wildernesses, hills and declivities, difficult of passage.

We surprised the Marathas in their negligence and ignorance of our whereabouts, and they fled away in the utmost disorder. The dead were countless. Our troops made spoil of their property. The Marathas never turned their faces towards us, but fled. During their confused flight they were plundered by the Kolis and Bhils in the jungles and deserts; especially at night when the rebels lost their way, much booty fell into their (Bhils' and Kolis') hands and the wretches suffered total losses.

The Marathas, when fleeing in terror, had to cross an arm of the sea, when many of them were drowned in the water and some, after abandoning their horses to destruction in the creek, themselves fled away half-dead. At the time of their arrival in a dark night on the bank of the creek the strange fate overtook them that their front ranks were slain by the waves and their rear by my soldiers.

To put it briefly, the Islamic army from the Akbarpur ferry (near Mandu), by forced marches traversing the wilderness of Khandesh, Surat and Konkan, owing to the abundance of trees, seldom found any path to take, but just in the nick of time arrived near Surat and drove the Marathas away to the neighbourhood of Daman, which is a Portuguese possession and a city of Konkan or the extreme western limit of the Deccan; and these beasts, like ants and snakes took refuge in narrow places with dense trees and strait paths into which the imagination cannot penetrate.

Therefore, I turned my reins to the left side of the path of these wretches, intending to fall upon them as soon as they entered Balaghat

from Tal Konkan and to chastise them at the right time. The subah of Gujarat has been freed from the disturbances created by Baji Rao, and the subah of Malwa too has remained safe from that wretch's mischief-making, and the holy port (Surat)—which is “the gate to the House of Allāh” and the place of embarkation for the pilgrims to the holy cities (of Islam),—has been saved from falling into the clutches of the villain. If my Ghāzīs (warriors in the cause of Islam) had not made such extreme exertions, the holy port would have fallen into the possession of the rebel and the gate to the House of Allāh would have been closed, the Muslims would have been excluded from pilgrimage to the House of Khudā, and total loss would have fallen on the imperial Government. But through the auspiciousness of the efforts of the holy warriors the villains have been crushed, the cities have remained safe, and the cursed one (Baji Rao) in the utmost humiliation has fled away.<sup>1</sup>

( ۱ )

ازطرف نواب آصف جاه نظام الملک بهادر

خدمت مهاراجه سوای جی سنگھ

حوالالب

سابق مکرر رتبه افزائی دولت مهارانا جیو و آن منبع الشان بلند مکان و انتشار مرعته در حدود و تاخت و تاراج نمودن ملک دامپوره و خادوده و رسیدن آنها بسرحد بوندی و کوتله نه از آنجا سرحد ملک آن سمو المکان قریب است نوشته بودند - جماعت ضاله در صوبه مالوا و تجرات آواره شده است - آسیب و اذیت که بحال دعا یا می رسانیدند از غایت اشتهدار احتیاج بنوشتن نیست - ذهن نشین مردم حضور پرنور شده بود که این جماعت باشاده و ایمانی این جانب در تجرات و مالوا انتشار می نمایند

1. This campaign of Åṣaf Jäh I is described only in *Mira't-i-Alīmadi* (Baroda ed. ii., 134-135) and in a few lines. The route and dates of Baji Rao's movements are given in his itinerary as printed in Marathi in Vad's *Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries*, Balaji Baji Rao, Vol. II. p. 232. From this latter source we learn that Baji Rao I came from Maharashtra through Baglan, Baswada and the Surat district (6-29th Dec. 1730), crossed the Baba Piara Ghat to the north bank of the Narbada (on 1st. Jan. 1731), raided the Baroda pargana (7-17th Jan.), then crossed the Mahi river to Nadiad, Kaira, Ahmadabad (Haveli), Modha, Kapadbhanj, and Thasra (18th March), next recrossed the Mahi to Godhār, Savli, Dabhoi, Antoli and Baroda (being near Baroda fort, then defended by Barmaji, the brother of Pilaji Gaekwad, 7-9th April), recrossed the Narbada at the Baba Piara ford, (10th April), passed through Ratanpur (11th April), and the Broach district (12-28th April), and finally reached Poona on 14th May.

Hence the date of the present letter is circa 3rd May 1731.

فرامین و احکام مطاعه در سَدِ این باب متواتر شرف صدور یافت - و آنچه لازمه سعی و کوشش بود درین باب بتقدیم رسید - و باهو مکرر به نُط و نصیحت نوشته شد که رفتن مرهنه برای نهیب و خارت نمودن ملک مالوا و گجرات خوب نیست ، خلاف مرضی مقدس است ، بافواج خود تاکید نماید که دریای نربده عبور نکنند - هر چند تاکید و تهدید کرده شد اصلاً بعمل نیامد - و افواج ساهو که درگفته او و در اختیار هیچ کس نیستند منوع نشدند -

بنا بر اطاعت حکم والا و پاس خاطر محبت مائر و پایه افزائی شوکت مهادانا و آن منيع الشان بعون عنایت السی راجه سنهاجی را که مدعاً ساهوست باستالت پیش خود طلب داشته به تنبیه و استیصال ساهو پرداخته شد - سلطانجی او که سرلشکر فوج مخالف بود آمده ملاقات نمود - برشکر راجه سنهاجی مقرر نموده شد - بعنایت الهی امید است له رفقای دیگر ساهو جدا شده بیانند و سلک جمعیتش گسیخته شود و بفضل الهی کار حسب ذخواه صورت یابد -

بعد جنگ مبارز خان له بتغیر بندویست صوبه حیدرآباد فوج ظفرموج بسمت شیکاکول عازم شده بود از آنجا بنگاله نزدیک و قریب بود - مردم همه بحد شده بودند که مخالفان برای غرض و گرمی بازار خود سخنان دروغ بعرض بادشاه رسانیده اند - قابوی خوبیست زود به بنگاله رسیده بضبط آن پرداخته شود - و همچنین مقدمات بسیار درمیان آمده - از آنجا که همت نیت مصروف بر دولتخواهی و فدویت جانب والا بود اصلاً این خطوه بخاطر خطور نکرد ، تابوقوع چه رسد ؟

بنابراین که درین ایام متواتر فرامین بدستخط خاص درباب تنبیه ساهو و عهد و پیمان و قسم که در همه باب امداد و اعانت لشکر نظر اثر خواهد شد و کار شکنی و اغوای مردم به هیچ وجه بعمل نخواهد آمد ، محض پیاس مرضی مبارک و بند ساختن زبان مخالفان و شرمنده ساختن آنها در خیال والا نمی باشد ، والا در همچو اوقات با مرهنه برهم زدن بصلاح مناسب نبود - با وصف این که در عهد خلد مکان و عهود سابقه این قدرقوت واستقلال و کثرت نداشت - چه قدر خزانی صرف بکارهای این جانین و راجه های عمه از منصبداران تقاضی و جاگیردار و مصلح در خود کار تعین بوده اند - الحال مرهنه رگ و دیش فساد در همه ملک قائم نموده زور و قوت آنها از حد افزوده بود - محض نظر بر افضل الهی و عنایت و اعانت بادشاھی است -

## خط نواب آصف جاه بنام عبدالنبي

باجی داو شقی ..... عرصه صوبه کجرات داخلی دیسه بروده که در قبضه تصرف فرنگ مودیه است محاصره کرده بود - نظر بر این که خدا نه کرده اکبر بروده بتصرف آن مدیر درآید اشد و اقیع است و کرد ضایع می شود و دیشنه نساد در آن صوبه استحکام می پذیرد و قتوه کلی در شعار ملت احمدی داه می یابد - بغیرت و حیث اسلام و پاس حق نمک عزیمت این ناهیع منهیع شریعت غرا مصمم ساخته بود که از دریای نربده عبور نموده جلو دیز باستیصال آن ظلمت سرشت پردازد و مراسم جهاد ولوازم قلعه دیشنه نساد بتقدیم آید ، که مدیر باستماع آمد (۱) لشکر اسلام از داه الى موهان سرشته استقلال یک قلم از کف داده ، دست از محاصره نشیده ، باین نیت که از لشکر اسلام تا انبوه مدیران فصل بعد بیان آید ، مقهور که در تسخیر بروده استحکام تهانه مسطور [مشغول بود] نیم شب از هول و هراس جنود محمدی دست و پا کم کرده بسرعت از نربده کذشته بحدود دکهن در آمد ، و از کوته اندیشه لشکر اسلام را دور دیده در پر کنات انگلیسر دایت فتنه و فساد بر افراد است ، و نائمه جود و ستم را مشتعل ساخته تر و خشت دا بر آتش پندار (ها) می سوخت -

لهذا این پیرو سنن مصطفوی از کذر اکبر بود که متصل قلعه ماندوست بهیر و بنده را با توبه های کلان به برها نپور فرستاده بحوال و قوه الہی باستعمال کثیر در مدت قلیل خود را به ندر باد رسانیده اشیای زیادتی دیگر ولوازم آتش خانه زاید نه با وصف ضرورت مختل و مانع طی مراحل بود ، ثانیاً در آنجا کذشته بطريق ایلغار دراندک فرصتی بحوالی بندر مبارک سورت رسید ، و از وفق احترازی که در ایلغار بود تئمه توب خانه سبک را نیز که مانع سرعت سیر بود ئالثا بال تمام باشیای دیگر در موضع کاتور کذشته شد -

لشکر اسلام بجد و جهد و تحمل مسافت و محنت کرانی و کرسنگی و از دار رفت مرائب و بادربداری لابدی که دو روز سه روز قوت لا یموت کم دست بهم می داد ، و اکثر اوقات از دشت و بیابان کم آب و جبال و عتاب دشوار کذا عبود و مرور اتفاق می افتاد ، جریده و سبک بعد قطعی مراحل نزدیک با انبوه مدیران رسید - تیره بختان از سرعت مجاہدان در عین بخبری بعثت آشوب قیامت کلمع البصر بلوا قرب دیده دفعه از خواب مرک غفلت جسته مانند اموات بفتح صور خبر وحشت اثر آمدن عساکر اسلام افغان و خیزان ، من بعثنا من مرقدنا گویان دو بعرصات هزیمت و فراد آوردند ، و ندای جانکدار "هذا ما و عدل الرحمن و صدق المرسلون" از عالم غیب شنیده شد - شودشی

که شود قیامت بیاد دفت ، بصولت و سطوت مجاہدان اشد بسرعت و اضطرابی که در عین فراد لیل و نهار از آن فریق تیره دوز ناد ظهور می نموده نعبه امارات ساعت و ساعات و علامات حشر در آنبوه آن خسران الارض معانشه می شد - از فرط وداد و گرمی بازار حشر و فراد ماده های آتشین بچه می انداختند - و در اثناء تعاقب بچه تازه از شکم مادیان برآمده مرده بسیار و بی شمار در مشاهده آمد -

پیش قدمان عرصه نبرد تیز جلوی کرده باشها رسید و اخذ غنائم میکردند و مدبران از بس له مغلوب قهر ایشی بودند دو باین طرف نمی کردند و عاد فراد را ذریعه نجات خود می دانستند - در تشویش فراد نولیان و بهیلان بجنكل و بیابان دد شهر (؟ لشکر) ادباد نصیبان درآمده دست بردهای نمایان کردند - خصوص بشبها که کمراهان سراسیمه می داشتند و راهها کم می کردند غنائم متکثره بدت آنها افتداد و خسارت های کلی بعد بران عاید شد - اوئلک هم اخاسرون حنهان از بیم سیز و آویز در اثناء شریزداه مغار دریای شود رسیده از شدت هول و هراس دم ازدهای شمشیر غازیان که مثل عصای موسوی باطل السحر و کید سامی نزدان است ، مانند فرعون و فرعونیان خود را به آب می زدند و غریق بحرنا می کشند - برخی اسپان را در غرقاب هلاک کذاشته نیم جانی بسلامت می برندند - هنگام و رو د آنها در شب تاری بر کنار شعاب مذکور حالت عجیبی دو می داد که پیش دو آنها موج لجه مرک بود و از پی سر افواج قاهره مستعد طعنی و ضرب -

ملخص نلام این که لشکر اسلام از کذرا کبر پود نواح ماند و بطريق ایلغاد از دشت و صحرای خاندیس و سودت و دو لن از ترا کم اشجار راه مروود کمتر داشت در نواح بندر مبارک بسر وقت مدبران کفار تیره درون را پیشرو انداخته بسواند من ، که از مسافت فرنگ و بلاد کوکن که منتهای حدود غربی دکهن است رسانیده و آن بهایم سیرتان مانند مور و مار و سایر حشرات الارض از شدت ترا کم اشجاد و خیق طریق درتنگ نای که مجال جولان خیال نبود ، خزیدند -

لهمذا عنان عزیمت بجانب بسارد سمت فراد آن فرقه تیره دوزگاد منعطف گردید که از طریق و سیعه هنگامی که از تل کوکن به بالاگهات براید محول و قوت قوى مطلق بسر وقت مدبران رسیده تنبیه پردازد - صوبه دجرات از فتنه باجي داو تمی گشت و صوبه مالوا نیز از شرقی مزبور مسئون ماند ، و از بندر مبارک که باب بیت الله و معبر زائران حرمین الشریفین است ، دست تسخیر و تصرف مفسد نوتاه شد - اکثر مساعی موفوده غازیان معرکه آرا ظهور نه می شد بندر

مبارک به تصرف مدبر می دفت و باب بیت الله مسدود می شد<sup>\*</sup> و محمدیان از زیارت خانه خدا محروم می ماندند<sup>\*</sup> و خسارت کلی به سرکار والا عاید می شد -

به برکات کوشش مجاہدان مفاسد زایل شد و امامتن محفوظ ماند - و شئی در کمال ذلت و خواری و خفت و نگون ساری گریخت - مرید قدرت خالک تیره مذلت بر سر [sic] او دل ساحر دیخت -

JADUNATH SARKAR.

# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

## د

داد

شیخ را گفتند داد جان ما تو ازین صوفی بخواهی پیشوا  
“To exact justice.” (M., II, 533).

They said to the Shaikh, “Exact justice for our souls from this Šūfī, O, chief.”

In Sh. N., III, 1459 is used apparently in the sense of باعدل : داد داست “Keeping the mean course,” in which is perfection : “inclining neither to excess,” nor to deficiency.” (Sh. N., III, 1459).

همه داشت او داست و ما بندایم که دهنده و هم فراینده ایم  
جهاندار یزدان بود داد راست که نفزاود درپادشاهی نکست

All wisdom is His, and we are (but) his slaves, for we diminish and also increase.

God, the maintainer of the world, keeps the mean course, for he neither increases nor diminishes in His Dominion.

—“Justice.” (Sh. N., IV, 1876).

گرایدوان که این پادشاهی مراست پرستنده باشیم و با داد راست

If this sovereignty is (to continue) mine, I will be your worshipper and (act) with justice.

دارنه : “The Possessor, the Holder (of all), God.” (Sh. N., IV, 1874).

جهان جوی و گردی و یزدان پرست مداراد دارنه باز از تو دست

You are ambitious of conquest, a hero, and a worshipper of God. May the Possessor (of all) withhold not His hand from you.

[Words of Khusrau Parvīz to Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

## داستان

داستان زدن : "To consider, to discuss." (Sh. N., IV, 1849).

بفرمان او پس زیاد برگشاد سخنا یکاکیک همه کرد یاد  
بدو شاه گفت این چه شاید بدن همه داستانها بباید زدن

At his command he began to speak : he narrated all the matters in detail.

The King said to him, "What can this be ? All this must be considered."

—(Sh. N., IV, 1915).

که با موبد نیک دل پاکرای زدیه از بد و نیک هر گونه رای  
زه گونه داستانها زدیه بران رای پیشنه باز آمدیه

As to the good and bad, in every way, I have consulted with a benevolent Mübid of good judgment.

We have discussed (the matter) in every wise ; we have gone back upon our former judgment.

—(with prep. به ) : "To speak " (of), (in sense of "to count upon").  
(Sh. N., I, 443).

چویی تهی مانداز داستان تو اید ببودن مزن داستان

Since the world has become void of the good, do not speak of your remaining here.

## داشت

برداشت : "To represent." (Sh. N., IV., 1758, and 1760).

1758 :

زکار آکهان موبدی نیکخواه چنان بد له برداشت روزے بشاه  
که گهی گنه بگذرانی همی بیدنام آن کس نخوانی همی  
همان را دگر باره آویزش است گه در آکر چند با پوزش است

It happened that a faithful Mübid, an experienced reporter, one day, represented to the King :

At one time you pass over an offence, you do not make ill mention of the author of it.

(But) on another occasion (a person) is held responsible for it (by you) however much he, the offender, offer excuses."

1760:

دُكْر باده برداشت مرد مَے بشاه زشاهان دکرگونه خواهد سپاہ  
کدامست کو بايدت روز جنگ زشیران اسپ افگن تیز چنگ

Again, a certain man represented that the King willed his army to be different from those of other Kings.

"What sharp-clawed lions must you have," (said he), "tamers of horses, on the day of battle?"

داغ داشتن : "Affliction, trouble." (Cf. داغ in Steingass).

داغدار : "blemish." (Cf. داغدار in Steingass).

دامن زن (with i'zāfat) : "Fanning", (e.g., fire or flames). (*Zend Dynasty* by 'Ali Rizā. ed. Beer. p. 40).

جعفر خان بعد از ورود بشیراز او را احضار و مشاوالیه با فامند معاذیر چند در ورود تعلل می نمود  
این معنی دامن زن آتش غصب جعفر خان شده

Ja'far Khān after his arrival at Shīrāz summoned the above-named personage, but the latter by advancing various excuses managed to put off his coming, and this fanned the fire of Ja'far Khān's anger.

دانان سر : A "learned, or wise man." (Sh. N., IV, 2017).

ازان مرز دانا سری را بجست که او پهلوانی بخواند درست

He sought a learned man of that country, (i.e., Persia), who could read *Pahlavī* well.

دانش

دانشی : (as adjective) : "Learned," or "wise." (Sh. N., II, 503).

پس آنگاه پیران فرستاده یکی دانشی مرد آزاده  
فرستاد تا آود شاه را فرستاده ببرید آن داه دا

Then Pirān sent an envoy, a wise man of noble character,

(With instructions) to bring the Prince ; and the envoy travelled on his road.

## داور

کنوں ایں کہ گفتیم پاسخ دھید ددیں داودی دائی فرخ دھید : "Contention, case in dispute." (Sh. N., III, 1483).

کنوں ایں کہ گفتیم پاسخ دھید ددیں داودی دائی فرخ دھید

Now give an answer to what I have proposed : offer a happy opinion in this disputed case.

[Bahrām Gūr, contesting the succession with a usurper, has proposed that the crown should be his who dares to take it from between two lions]

—A "case," a "matter." (Sh. N., I, 462).

تو دائی کہ من دوستدار توام بھر نیک و بد ویژہ یار توام  
نبايد کہ فردا گمانے بری کہ من بودم آگہ ازین داودی

You know that I am your friend : in all good or bad (fortune) I am your special associate.

I should not wish you to have afterwards any suspicion that I was aware of this matter.

[Garsīvaz has been sent by his brother Afrāsiyāb to bring Siyāvash before him. The Turanian King is simply suspicious, and there is no case "in dispute"].

شہب بخواب اندر بگفتہ هاتھی کہ خریدی آب حیوان و شفی  
حرمت این اختیار و این دخول شد نماز جملہ خلقان قبول

At night, in sleep, a voice from Heaven said to him, "You have bought The Water of Life, and spiritual restoration.

(In) honour of this choice and this mode of conduct (of yours), the prayers of all the people have found acceptance.

— "An approach towards, an introduction to." (M., II, 359).

آن بھادان مضمورست اندر خزان در بھارست آن خزان مُکریز ازان

That spring is involved in autumn : that autumn is an introduction to the spring ; flee not from it.

— "For, with a view to, for the purpose of." (M., II, 375).

رجف کرد اندر ہلاک ہر دعی فہم کرد از حق کہ یا ارض ابلعی

(The earth) has quaked for the destruction of every villain ; and it understood (the command) of God, "O earth, swallow up thy water."

[The verse refers to the engulfing of Korah, and to the subsidence of the waters of the Flood].

—(M., II, 452) :

پس زمین تیره را دانی که چند دیدن و تمیز باید در پستند

Then you may know how much looking and discrimination the dark earth requires for the purpose of (its gaining your) approval.

[Cf. the Kur'an, LXVII., 3].

—“ For, from, instead of.” (Ch. M., p. 162).

بعادت فارسی زبانان که الف را قلب بیا کنند چون حجیز و رکیب و احتیز در حجاز و رکاب و احتراز و نخواآن .

According to the usage of Persians, who convert 'Alif' into 'Yā' ; as ھیجےz, or rikēb, or iħtirēz for ھیجےz, or rikāb, or iħtirāz, and so on.

### دراز

دراز شدن “ To become difficult.” (Sh. N., II., 522).

بدو گفت کیخسرو ای دزم ساز کنون کار من بر تو بر شد دراز

Kaikhusrāu said to (Gīv), “ O warrior, my business has now become difficult for you.”

[Pīrān, the Vazīr and general of Afrāsiyāb, with an army, has overtaken Kaikhusrāu, who has only Gīv, the Persian hero, to defend him. The business is evidently not “ long ” but “ difficult.”]

Cf. too کار دراز کردن (Steingass)].

استادن “ To set to work.” See under.

آمدن “ To turn out, to happen to be.” See آمدن.

آوردن “ To translate.” See آوردن.

: دربار (dur-bār) : Raining pearls.” (M., II).

خوددن : See under.

### درد

درد خوددن : To endure pain ;” (e.g., through manliness). (Sh. N., I, 356).

بزد گرز و آورد کتفش بدرد بیچید و درد از دلیری بخورد

He struck him with the mace and hurt his shoulder. He suffered pain, out endured it with manliness.

درد افتادن (with prep. به) : For " pain to affect ;" (e.g., the body). (M. I., 549).

این جنیں مر آں جنیں دا سجدہ کردا درد سجودش در تنم افتاد درد

This embryo inclined in worship before that embryo, so that pain affected my body through that inclination.

درد آمدن (with prep. به) : For " pain to affect ;" (e.g., the body). (M. I., 471, 2.).

لکھت پشم درد می آید عظیم  
لکھت از پیریست ای شیخ نزاد :

(The old man) continued, " Severe pain affects my back." (The physician) said, " (That too) is from age, O attenuated old man."

[I am understanding به before پشت in accordance with the T. Com., who renders ارقمه عظیم درد و الہ کلود به otherwise might be understood before درد ].

کفتن or زدن ) : " To lament." (Vullers).

درس

آدم انبیهم بأسماء درس کو شرح ده اسرار حق دا موبئو

(Adam was) a teacher (as enjoined by the words), " Adam, inform them of the names (of all things), an explainer, he, in detail of the secrets of God."

[I agree with the H. Com., against the T. Com., that درس کو is here a compound noun and not an imperative].

درس کفتن ( دادن ) : " To teach." (Steingass).

درس داشتن : " To teach." (Ch. M., p. 137).

.... خاصه مردے چوں بو حنیفہ که کتر فضل وے شعراست و بے اجرے و مشاهره درس ادب و علم داد

Especially a man like Bū-Hānīfā (Iskāfī), whose least accomplishment is poetry, and who without emolument or pay teaches literature and learning.

درس خواندن ( گرفتن ) : " To learn." (Steingass has " to teach ").

## درست

درست آمدن “To strike as true.” (Sh. N., I, 458).

چو افرازیاب این سخن باز جست همه گفت گرسیوز آمد درست

When Afrāsiyāb had considered this matter, all that Garsīvaz had said struck him as true.

(with دا of person) : For one “to be sure or convinced” of a thing. (Sh. N., IV, 1739).

مرا این درست است کن ز پند من تو دوری و دوری زیبوند من

I am convinced of this that you are averse to my counsel and to union with me.

(with, e.g., ) : “To be well achieved” (by). (D. Sh., p. 21).

وفردوسی را بنظم شاهنامه ایماء و اشارات می کرده که این در بست تو درست خواهد شد.

And (Asadi) went on suggesting to Firdausī that he should compose the Shāh Nāma, saying that the work would be well achieved by him.

—(with prep. بر) : “To be established or proved” (against). “To be fixed” (upon). (Sh. N., I, 393).

بکافس گویم که این از منست چنین کشته بر دست اهر نیست

مگر کاین شود بر سیاوش درست کنون چاره این باید جست

I will tell Kā'ūs that this infant is mine ; that it has been killed so by Ahriman.

Per chance this may be fixed upon Siyāvash ;—now you must effect this (for me).

—(with دا) : “To be settled” (by). (Sh. N., I, 457).

سه دوز انددیں کاد دای آوریم سخنهای بتر بجای آوریم

چو این کار گردد خرد را درست سروشته آنگاه باید جست

Let us deliberate for three days upon this matter, and advance the best arguments (we can).

When the matter has been settled (in our minds) as wisdom dictates, then you must seek some means (of dealing with it).

[Lit., “has been settled by wisdom”].

زایرانیاں هر که نزدیک تست که کردی بدل داستی شان درست  
درست کردن

زایرانیاں هر که نزدیک تست که کردی بدل داستی شان درست  
بدهی نامه در نام ایشان ببر زدنجی که برداشت یابند ببر

Whatever Persians there are with you whose loyalty you have ascertained in your heart—

Inscribe their names in your letter, that they may gain the fruit of the toil they have borne.

—“To follow,” (in the sense of “to trace out”). (Sh. N., III 1480).

همیں پادشاہی کے میراث تست پدر ببر پدر کرد شاید درست

This sovereignty which is your inheritance can be traced out through father to father.

درشت：“Robust, burly.” (See داشت).

درشت：“Robustness, burliness.” (Gulistān, I, 15).

اے کہ شخصی منت حقیر نمود تا درشتی هنر نپنداری

O you, to whom my person appeared mean, beware of taking burliness as merit.

[“Merit,” here “military merit, bravery.” Cf. the L. “virtus”]

درشت：“To be fused or mingled together.” (Cf. در شکستن). See under شکستن.

### دوفس

علم شدن (To become notorious.) (Cf. درشتی شدن). (Sh. N., I, 457).

برو برا بھانہ ندارم ببد گرا زمن بدو اندکی بد رسد  
زبان برکشایند بر من مهان درشتی شوم درمیان جهان

I could not allege against him any evil deed ; if I should do him any ill.

The great men would be loud in blame of me, I should become notorious throughout the world.

کشیدن (اندر) : "To withdraw, to retire." See under در کشیدن.

کشیدن (در) : "To pass," (as time. v. n.). See under در کشیدن.

### درنگ

درنگ آوردن ("To delay.") (Sh. N., II, 515).

فرنگیس گفت ادرنگ آوریم جهان بر دل خویش تنگ آوریم

Farangis said, "If we delay, we shall be reduced to difficulty and distress."

### دست

دست باختن (with prep. به) : "To raise one's hand against." (Sh. N., IV, 1796).

میان تنگ خون و نخن را بیست به هرام آذر مهان باخت دست

He made full ready to shed blood ; he raised his hand against Bahrām Āzar Mahān.

دست بر دست گذاشت ("To pass from hand to hand.") (Sh. N., IV, 2002).

چو موبد چنیں گفت برداشتند همه دست بر دست بگذاشتند

When the Mübid had spoken thus, they took up (the bowl), and all passed it from hand to hand.

دست بردن (with prep. به) : "To touch, handle." (Sh. N., IV, 1754).

بدین درج و این قفل نابرده دست نهفته بگویند چیزی که هست

Without touching this casket or the lock, let them say what thing is concealed in it.

— (with prep. به) : "To treat with violence." (Sh. N., I, 339).

بگیرش ببر زنده بردار کن وزو نیز مکشای با من سخن

زگفتار او گیورا دل بخست که بردمے برسم بدین گونه دست

(The King shouted), "Seize him, take him off, and put him living on the cross ; and henceforth speak not of him to me."

At his words Giv's heart was wounded—that he should treat Rustam with such violence.

(سر بر زدن) دست بر سر زدن : "To be perturbed, dismayed." (Sh. N., IV, 1834).

**نشستی** کنو در دژی چو زنان پراز خون دل و دست بر سر زنان

Now, like a woman you have settled down in a stronghold, with heart afflicted and (with mind) perturbed.

دست **بم** دادن : "To be joined together." (H. T., p. 309).

دست زدن (with prep. ب or به): "To touch."

دست رسیدن (with or of the person): "To be possible," "(for one) to have the power." (M., II, 352).

گفت حق تست بزن دست دید رسید این سزای آنکه از یاران برید

He responded, " You are right ; beat me ; you have got the power (to do so). This (is) the fit requital for him who separates from (his) friends."

دست ساویدن (with prep. با) : “ To engage ” (in). v. n. (Sh. N., IV, 2014).

مسا ئيد با آز و با كينه دست بمنزل مكن جائيگاه و نشت

Do not engage in greed or hostility ; do not take up your abode and settle in a caravansera.

دست سودن and دست ساویدن See : دست سائیدن

(See too *Sawiyden* (سأيدن)). (Sh. N., IV, 1911). دست سودن دست سايدن ( ).

پچزی که بر ما نیاید شکست بکوشید با او بسائید دست

Use effort and engage in matters so far as I may not suffer detriment.

دست گشادن: "To take in hand" (any matter). (Sh. N., I, 386).

کنون از بزرگان زنی برگزین نگه دلن پس پرده لی نشین  
بخار کی آوش دگر نیز هست ز هرسو بیارای و بکشای دست

"Choose now a wife from those who are great; sit behind the curtain of the King and look.

"There are others too in the palace of Kai Arash—settle (the matter) and take it in hand from any quarter (you will).

[Kai Ārash was a younger brother of King Kai Kā'ūs, who is speaking here].

— “To exert oneself, to make efforts.” (Sh. N., I).

همه دست بگشای تا یکسره چو گرک اندرايند پيش بره

Make all effort, so that (the troops) may suddenly fall (upon them) as wolves upon the lambs.

دستی ساختن in دستی کردن (with accus.) : “To work at, to treat.” (Cf. Steingass). (Ch. M., p. 54).

و مشتمل است بر اصول او قلیدس نجار که ثابت بن قره دستی کرده است.

And the work of Euclid of Magara which has been treated by Sābit b. Kurra, embraces the principles of it (i.e., geometry).

[I am suggesting مکاره for نجاد or مجاده since Euclid has been called “Megarensis,” through confusion with the philosopher of the same name, but not a “carpenter”].

دستخوش “Manipulated, kneaded.” (M., II, 526).

چون نه کامل دهن نهای مکیر دستخوش می باش تاگردی خمیر

When you are not a perfect (master), do not take a shop by yourself alone. Submit to be kneaded, in order that you may become paste.

[See the Maṣnavī, Book II, Translation and Commentary by C. E. Wilson].

دسترس (with prep. به ) : “Resource” (in). (Sh. N., IV, 1819).

ز پیشین سخن و آنکه لفظی ز پس بگفتار دیدم ترا دسترس

From your previous words and what you have said subsequently, I see that your resource is in speech (alone).

دستکه

دستکه وجود “The outer senses and the inner.”

[For the latter Steingass is defective, see in the present Supplement under حواس ].

دغافلی : “Filled with sticks and straws or other rubbish.” (M., II, 109).

ظاهر و باطن ندارد حبة مغلسی قلبی دغافلی دبه

He has not a single grain, visible or hidden ; he is an insolvent, a good-for-nothing, a bag of rubbish.

## دفع

دفع گفتن "To put off with words." (M., II, 439).

دفع شان گفت و بسوی غزو تاخت با دغایان از دغا نردی بیاخت

He put them off with words, and hastened on his expedition. With cheats he played a cheating game of backgammon.

—"To meet one with objections, to make difficulties, to have still something to say." (M., II, 516).

گفت یارب دفع من می گوید او و آن گرفتن را نشان می جوید او

(Shu'a'il) exclaimed, "O Lord, he meets me with objections, and seeks signs of that calling to account!"

دنکش : A "precurer of women."

دنکشی : "Precuring women." (Maulānā Umīdī).

کوه دلال و دنکشی بترا بهتر از شاعری و من لاذی

Melius est pueris et puellas perducere quam versus condere idem que gloriari.

[The F. Persian-Turkish Dictionary explains by the word (i.e., پازنک pāzanak), but Vullers (followed by Steingass), evidently reading (pāzhang), gives an erroneous interpretation. The F. explains as follows:

دنکش----یعنی پازنک که عورت پازنکنه دینلور او غلان پازنکنه کوه دلال دیرلر.

[Vullers reads کوه دلال and منلائی ].

دلق گرفتن (as). (with prep. بر) : "To cast reproach" (upon), "to object" (to). (M., II, 459).

سیناتم چون وسیلت شد بحق پس مزن بر سیناتم هیچ دق

Since my sins have been a means of reaching God, then do not object to my sins.

## دل

دل از آب تیره شستن "To sully one's mind with a dark thought or suspicion." (Sh. N., I, 415).

همه یافقی جنگ خیره مجوی دل رو شنت ز آب تیره مشوی

You have gained everything, do not wantonly seek war ; do not sully your brilliant mind with dark suspicion.

[Rustam is trying to disabuse King Kai Kā'ūs of his suspicions of Siyāvash, his son, and to dissuade him from war with Afrasiyāb who has made friendly overtures].

دل از گرد شستن "To get clear view of things." (Sh. N., I, 384).

زمانی همی با دل اندیشه کرد بکوشید تا دل بشوید زگرد

گانی چنان برد کو دا پدر پژوهه همی تا چه دارد بسر

For a time (Siyāvash) set his mind to think ; he tried to get a clear view of the matter.

He had a suspicion that his father (Kāi Kā'ūs) was seeking to fathom what he had in his mind.

(with prep. در or به): "To turn one's mind" (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1913).

بقيصر چني نفت پس رهنای که از فيلسوفان پاکيزيه داي

بيايد تني چند بيدار دل که بندند با ما درين گذر دل

Then the Kaišar's adviser thus spoke to him, " Of the philosophers of judgment bright,

Of mind alert, some should be (here), to turn their minds with us to this affair."

For "the heart to perish, to die within one," (from terror). (M., II, 86).

شیر نفت اد دوشني افزو شدی ز هره اش بدريدي و دل خون شدی

The lion said, " If the light were increased, he would be terrified, and his heart would die within him."

"To get impatient." (H. I, p. 307).

"To have one's wits about one." (Sh. N., I, 485).

بدو نفت کاين دل ندارد بجای ز سر پر سمش پاسخ آدد ز پاي

He said to him, " This person has not his wits about him ; I ask him about 'head' and he answers about 'foot.'

نود نور عاقله (The intellectual faculty) (Lit. "the light of the heart or mind"). (M. I., 252).

نود نور چشم خود دلست نور چشم از نور دلها حاصلست  
باز نور نور دل خداست کوز نور عقل و حس پاک و جداست

The light of the eyes is the light of the mind ; the light of the eyes is derived from the light of the mind.

Again, the light of the light of mind is the Light of God, which is clear of the light of intellect and sense and separate from it.

[Turkish Commentator : نور دل که قوت عاقله در اکا نور خدا منضم او لقزین هر انسانه وار در دون الجانين استعدادلری مقداری .

The light of the mind, which is the intellectual faculty, though without the addition of the Light of God, is present in all men, except the insane, according to the extent of their capacity].

### دلالت

بدلات (ba-dalālat-e) : "Under the guidance of, led by, actuated by." (A. M., p. 103).

معنی تواجد استدعا و استجلاب و جداست بطريق تذکر یا تفکر یا تشبہ باهله و جد در حرکات و سکنات بدلالت صدق .

For translation see under تشبه (tashabhu).

### دم (dam)

دم ("Words." *Passim*.

———"Spirit and fire." (See باد و دم ).

دم رستخیز ("The ferment of the Resurrection."

دم زدن (with prep. از or without the prep.) : "To boast" (of). (Vullers). Steingass omits government of verb.

بر شمردن (with prep. بر) : "To count the breaths of any one's life ; i.e., to give him short respite. (Sh. N., II, 523).

یکی داستان زد هز بر ثیان که چون برگزینی سراید زمان  
زمانه برو دم همی بشمرد بباید که بر شیر نر بگذرد

A fierce lion has said, "When time is coming to a close for a stag, Fate gives it short respite: it comes upon the male lion in its passage."

دمگیری : "Difficulty of breathing." (M., II, 472).

گفت ضعف معده هم از پیری است گفت وقت دم مرا دمگیری است

(The physician) said, "Weakness of stomach also is from old age." (The patient) said, "When I breath I have a difficulty in breathing."

### دمیدن

بر دمیدن : "To be excited." (Sh. N., IV, 1817).

بیامد بگفت آنچه دید و شنید سر شاه ترکان زکین بردمید

He came and told what he had seen and heard; the brain of the King of the Turks was excited by animosity.

—"To rush forth, to speak up." (Sh. N., III, 1468).

چو بہرام گور آن شترمرغ دید بکردار باد هوا بر دمید

When Bahrām Gūr saw the ostriches, he rushed forth like the wind.

[Occurs often in this sense, but the spurring up may be supposed to have been accompanied by excited cries].

### دم (dum)

دم دراز (Sometimes metaphorical) : "Lengthy." (M., III., 178).

تو مترس و مهلتش ده دم دراز گو سپه گرد آر و صد حیله بیاز

Fear not; give him a lengthy respite. Say to him, "Collect an army, and practise a hundred stratagems."

[Supposed words of God to Moses about Pharaoh].

در دم شدن (with prep. به) : "To be followed (by). (Hadīka, p. 10, l. 22).

پایه اول اندو حلمست کو بتحقیق خواجه علمست

شده در دم بد یگری پایه خرد جان و صورت و مایه

The first step towards it, is constancy, according to the verification of the lord of knowledge.

This is followed by another step : the wisdom of the soul and of the body.

[The author is speaking of the steps towards spiritual perfection. Major Stephenson translates حلم as "serenity," but the sense is rather "constancy, steadfastness, long-suffering"].

### دوختن

بر دوختن (with) : "To stick" (to), "to be fixed" (upon), "to throw it" (upon) (M., II, 472).

گفت ای احمق بین بر دوختی از طبیعت تو همیں آموختی

(The patient) said (to the physician), "O fool, you throw it (all) upon this ! Have you learned nothing of medicine but this ?"

### دور (daur)

از دور زمانه زیستن : از دور زمانه "In a temporal or worldly way," e.g.,

"To live as in the world or time" (Hadīkā, p. 32).

تا ز دور زمانه خواهی زیست تو ندانی که اندر آنجا چیست

So long as you live as in the world, you will not know what is there (i.e., what is in your soul).

[Only annihilation as to the world and self can make you cognizant of the Deity].

### دوغ

بدوغ افتادن : "To be deceived, deluded" (Lit. "to fall upon butter-milk"). (M., II, 343).

چون که بی سوکند گفتش بد دروغ تو میفت از مکرو سوکندش بدوغ

Since without an oath his words are lies, do not be deluded by his deceit and oaths.

[Cf. دوغ خوددن].

سوی دوغ صلاح زدن : "To try to delude" (Lit. "to invite to butter-milk"). (M., II., 428).

دو مگس میگیر تا تانی هلا سوی دوغی زن مگسها دا صلاح

Come now ! go and take flies as far as you can ; try to delude flies. (Lit. "invite the flies to some butter-milk").

## دھلیز (dihliz)

دریزی ("Outer, superficial." (Lit. "pertaining to the vestibule"). (M., II, 558).

سر که دا گر گرم کردی ز آتش آن چون خودی سردی فراید بی گان  
ز آنکه آن گرمی او دھلیزی است طبع اصلش سردی است و تیزی است

Though you eat vinegar by fire, it undoubtedly adds coldness (to the system) when you drink it ;

Because that heat of it, (which is caused by fire), is (only) superficial ; its original nature is cold and tart.

دیه (as or دساه) : "Flowers." (Lit. "Brocade.") (Sh. N., I, 442).

هوا خوشگوار و زمین خوبرنگ ز دیه زمینش چو پشت پلنگ

The air was wholesome and the earth beautiful with colours : the soil with flowers was like the leopard's back.

(با ) (with prep. دیدن کردن) دیدار کردن : "To pay a visit." (Sh. N., I, 431).

سیاوش با سپ دگر بر نشست بینداخت آن گوی لختی ز دست  
پس آنگه بچوگان برو کاد کرد چنان شد که با ماه دیدار کرد

Siyāvash mounted another horse ; he threw up the ball a little. Then struck it with the polo-stick, so that it paid visit to the moon.

دیدن : "To anticipate." (Sh. N., I, 411).

کسی کو ببیند سرانجام بد ز کردار بد بازگشتن سرد

It behoves him who anticipates an evil issue to desist from evil action.

— "To meet," in the sense of "to cope with." (Sh. N., I, 430).

ز هر کس شنیدم که چوگان تو نه بینند گردان بیدان تو

(I have heard from every one that the heroes cannot cope with your polo-stick in the ground where you play).

دیر

دیر ساختن : "To delay." (v.n.). (Sh. N., I, 465).

اگر دیر سازی تو جنگ آورد دو کشود بمردی بچنگ آورد

If you delay, he will make war ; by his valour he will take possession of the two countries.

دیر کردن "To delay" (in coming), "to come late." (L. A., I, 202).

وقتی مقربان او دیر کردند چون برسیدند گفت ....

Once his intimates came late ; when they arrived, he said : (Here follows a quatrain).

دیر ساز "Ancient." (Sh. N., IV, 1711).

بدیدم که این تبید دیر ساز نخواهد همی لب گشادن براز

I have seen that this ancient Dome will not speak of (its) secrets.

[The "ancient Dome" is the Sky. ساز has the sense of "made," as in "ill-made"].

— "Slow to decide ; deliberate." (Sh. N., IV, 1763).

یک گفت کای شاه کهر نواز چرا گشتی اکنون همی دیرساز  
چنین داد پاسخ که با بخرا دان همانیم و هم نیز با موبدان  
چو آواز آهرمن آید بگوش نکاند بدل دای و با مغز هوش

One said, "O, King, cherisher of your subjects, why have you now become slow to decide and deliberate?"

He answered, "With the wise and the Mūbids I am at one—

If the voice of Ahriman is listened to, neither judgement remains in the mind, nor intelligence in the brain."

دیری : "A long time." (Ch. M., p. 102).

اسکاف را در هان منصب برقرار داشت و بر مرتبش بیفزود ولی دیری نکشید که اسکاف مریض شده این جهان را پدرود گفت .

('Abdu'l-Malik) retained Iskāfī in the same office, and raised his position ; but no long time elapsed before Iskāfī fell sick and bade adieu to this world.

دیری کشیدن : For "a long time to elapse." (See دیری).

دیر یاب "Of long date." (Sh. N., IV, 1857).

چو بهرام دا آن نیامد پستند همی بد ز گفتار خواهر نژنند  
دل تیره ز اندیشه دیر یاب همی تخت شاهی نمودش بخواب

Since they did not meet Bahrām's approval, he was angry at his sister's words.

His heart, darkened by considerations of long date, showed him the kingly throne (even) in dreams.

مَنْ كَانَ مُهِاجِرًا لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ فَكَانَ مُهِاجِرًا لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ (M. II, ?).

### دیوار

بَيْشِ دِيَوَادَ كَرْدَنْ : “To put outside the walls, to banish.” (Sh. N., IV, 2049).

مَنْ كَانَ مُهِاجِرًا لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ فَكَانَ مُهِاجِرًا لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ

He must have banished death (from his consideration) to treat his father's life as of so slight account.

(ادب گاه and ادب کده) دیوان ادب : A “seat of culture,” a “royal court.” (M., II, 553).

قاصدی دانا ز دیوان ادب سوی هندستان روان کرد از طلب

(The King) sent a learned envoy from the royal Court to (go to) India in search (of the tree).

### ذ

#### ذخیره

نُو بَهَادَ (1917, No. 59, p. 3) : ذخیره کردن “To save up.”

ذمیم “Disparaged.” (Redhouse). (M., II, 225 ; Commentary).

یکسواره می دود شاه عظیم در کف طفلان چنین دریتیم

The great King rides alone and unattended ! so incomparable a pearl is in the hands of children !

Turkish Commentary :

عَجَبٌ دَرَ كَهْ بُويْلَهْ بَرْ شَاهْ عَظِيمْ يَكْسُواَدَهْ كَيدْ دَرَ بُويْلَهْ دَرِيتِيمْ كَفْ طَفَلَانَهْ ذَمِيمْ دَرَهْ .

It is marvellous that so grand a King should ride alone and unattended, and that so incomparable a pearl should be in the hands of children disparaged !

[i.e., the commonalty cannot appreciate so great a saint as the perfect Sūfi, and neglect and disparage him as children would a precious pearl].

ر

داز

داز داندن “To reveal a secret or secrets.” (Sh. N., IV, 1851).

ازان پس گرانمایگان دا بخواند بسى دازها پیش ایشان براند

Afterwards he summoned the nobles and chiefs, and revealed many secrets to them.

داست

(with prep. با) : “To make accordant” (with). (Sh. N., III, 1484).

هان داست داريم دل با زبان ز کژي و تاري به پيچم دوان

I will also make my heart accordant with my tongue ; I will turn my soul from what is false and dark.

—(with prep. با) : “To hold as equal” (to), or, “the same” (as). (Sh. N., IV, 1910).

که هرچند کاين پادشاهي جداست ترا باتن خويش داريم داست

For although this is a separate Kingdom (from yours), I hold you as the same as myself.

داشت شدن : “To be rightly conducted,” (as policy or deliberations). (Sh. N., III, 1504).

چو سهتر يكى گشت شد داي داست بيفزود خوب و زشتى بکاست

When the ruler was one, the policy was rightly conducted ; good was increased, and evil was diminished.

—“To be concluded,” (as deliberations). (Sh. N., *passim*).

داشت کردن : “To adjust, to put into a suitable position.” (Sh. N., IV, 1812).

سپهدي برانگيخت اسپ اي شگفت بنوک سنان زان سري برگرفت  
همي داند تا نيزه را گرد داست بینداخت آن سربدان سوکه خواست

The general spurred up his horse and with the point of his lance lifted a head from the (basket).

He rode on till he had adjusted the lance, and then cast the head in the direction he wished.

—“To establish firmly.” (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

هر آنگه که او خویشتن کرد راست نژندی و کزی بیوم شهast

As soon as he has established himself firmly, distress and perversion will be (the lot) of your country.

[The country is that of the Eastern Empire, to which Khusrau Parvīz is fleeing from his father's Court].

(with prep. با) : “To become on a level” (with). (Sh. N., I, 431).

خوش نیره ز میدان بخاست همی خالک با آسمان کشت داست  
از آواز صبح و دم کرده نای تو کفی بجنید میدان ز جای

The roll of the drums arose from the polo-field ; the earth became on a level with the sky.

From the clashing of the cymbals and the blare of the trumpets the plain seemed to move up from its place.

“To speak.” (Sh. N., I, 457).

سپهاد تودان و دا پیش خواند و کاد سیاوش فراوان براند

The general (and ruler) of Tūrān summoned him to his presence ; he spoke much to him concerning Siyāvash.

(with prep. بر) : “To impress” (upon). (Sh. N., IV, 1749).

هر آن در کزان نامه بر خواندی همه روز بر دل همی داندی

Every section of the book which he read—he impressed it every day upon his mind (as he read it).

[The book is the Fables of Bidpāy, which Barzūy, Nūshērvān's envoy to the Indian King, is allowed to read only in the latter's presence].

داه

“To adopt the habit” (of). (Sh. N., IV, 1852).

نباید که داه پلنگ آوریم که با هر کسی دای جنگ آوریم

We must not adopt the habit of leopards and resolve to fight with everyone.

“To be of opinion.” (Sh. N., I, 419).

چو کشور سراسر پرداختند گروگان و آن هدیه ها ساختند  
همه موبدان برگزیدند داه که ماباز گردیم ازین کینه گاه

Since they have cleared out of the whole country, have given hostages and presents,

The Mūbids, all, have been of opinion that we should turn away from this field of contention.

”To wish to come.” (Sh. N., I, 422). داه جستن :

پرسید کاین دا چه درمان کنم وزین داه جستن چه پیمان کنم

He asked him, saying, “What course shall I follow in this? what means shall take as to (his) wish to come?”

بخوبی داه نمودن (with of the person): “To indicate as good, to speak well” (of). (Sh. N., IV, 2047).

بزرگان که بودند در پیش شاه ز شیرین بخوبی نمودند داه  
که چون او زنی نیست اندر جهان چه در آشکار و چه اندنهان

The grandees who were in the presence of the King all spoke well of Shīrīn,

Saying, “There is no woman like her in the world, whether in public (conduct) or in private.”

”To come away.” (Sh. N., I, 422). براه آمدن :

اگر خود جزایش نبودی هنر که از خون صد نامور با پدر  
برآشست و بگذاشت تخت و کلاه بکثیر سپرد و خود آمد براه  
نه نیکو نماید ز داه خرد کزین کشود آن نامور بگذرد

If he had no merit but this, that, for the lives of a hundred famous men,

He had been indignant with his father, and had abandoned throne and crown, leaving them to one younger, and himself coming away,

It would not look well to the eyes of wisdom that that illustrious (Prince) should leave this country.

[The hundred famous men are the hostages given by Afrāsiyāb, and whom Kai Kā'ūs, the father of the Prince Siyāvash, wishes to execute].

”For.” (Sh. N., III, 1480). داه ( ) اضافت (with)

چو مندر بنزدیک جهرم رسید بدان دشت بی آب لشکر کشید  
سرا پرده زد داه بهرام شاه بگرد اندو آمد ز هرسو سپاه

When Munzir arrived near Jahram, leading his army to that waterless plain,

He pitched a tent for Prince Bahrām Gūr, and the army came round from all sides.

[Cf. در داه کس نهادن “To put at one's disposal”].

داه داست “Truthfully.” (Sh. N., IV, 2017).

بدو گفت قیصر که خسرو کجاست باید ت گفتن بن داه داست

The Kaišar said to him, “Where is Khusrau Parvīz? You must tell me truthfully.”

### دای

دای آوردن (with prep. به) : “To resolve to go” (to). (Sp. ch., p. 81).

سکندر بتاریکی آورد دای که خاطر بتاریکی آید بجای

Alexander resolved to go into the darkness, since the mind is tranquilized by darkness.

[Alexander is in search of the Water of Life which lies in the darkness. The distich is from the *Sikandar Nāma* of Niżāmi].

دای پیش آوردن : “To deliberate, to consult together.” (Sh. N., III, 1413).

ز مانی غم پادشا هی برد خود و موبدش دای پیش آورد

For a time (each day) he should bear the tail of sovereignty : he himself and his minister should consult together.

استشاده دای جستن : “To consult (another).” (Cf. جستن).

دای دیدن : “To think proper, to think the best plan.” (Sh. N., II, 506).

برانگیخت دل آدمیده ز جای تهمن هان کرد کو دید دای

(Zavāra) roused his heart which was at rest, and Rustam did as he (Zavāra) thought proper.

[Zavāra has urged his brother Rustam to devastate Tūrān in revenge for the murder of Siyāvash].

دای دهن : For : “opinions to be given.” (Sh. N., IV, 1731).

بیا مد دو فرزانه نیک دای میانشان همی رفت هرگونه دای

Two wise men of good judgment came, and between them opinions of every kind were given.

(دای زدن) (with prep. د) : "To express an opinion" (upon). (M., II, 233).

دوستان در قصه ذوالنون شدند سوی زندان و دران دای زدند  
کهین مگر قاصد کند با حکمتیست او درین دین قبله و آیتیست

The friends went to the prison in view of Zu'n-Nūn's affair, and expressed a certain opinion upon that (case).

They said : " Possibly he does this of set purpose, or there is some mysterious reason for it ; for in this religion he is a 'Kibla' and a miracle.

—(with prep. به) : " To resolve to go " (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1692).

بسعد اندرون بود خاقان که شاه بگر گان همی دای زد با سپاه

The Khākān was in Sogdiana, when the King (Nūshīrvān) resolved to go to Gurgān with his army.

[ "Gurgān," the ancient Hyrcania].

" دای گفتن " : "To exchange opinions." (Sh. N., I, 456).

ز بیگانه پرداخته کردند جای نشستند و گفتند هر گونه دای

They cleared the place of strangers, and sat down and exchanged opinions of all kinds.

رجاحت (rajāḥat)

(بر) (with prep. بر) : " To be preferable " (to). (L. A., I, p. 265).

از دوح پاک بردہ خوبی تو لطفات بر عقل کی نبودہ اخلاق تو رجاحت

Your beauty has derived its delicate grace from the pure (Universal) Spirit ; your moral qualities are preferable to (those of) the Universal Intellect.

[From Rashīdu'd-Dīn Muhammad of Isfīzār].

دخنه

: A " maker of gaps or fissures." (H. P., p. 96).

گفت ای دخنه بند راه گشای دولت بر مراد راه نمای

She said, " O you who make fissures and who open roads, you whom good fortune guides to his desire."

[See the "*Haft Paikar*," Translation and Commentary, by C. E. Wilson].

رسماً "Actually ; " i.e., "as regards the actual performance of the official duties," (Opposed to اسماً "Nominally"). (Ch. M., p. 102).

و او را دیوان رسایل بنیابت ابوعبدالله .... بنشاند و دیوان رسایل اسماً با ابوعبدالله .... بود و رسماً با اسکاف .

And (the Amīr Nūh appointed him to the secretarial department as deputy to Abū 'Abdu'l-lāh ; and this department, though nominally under Abū 'Abdu'l-lah, was, as regards the actual performance of the duties under Iskāfī.

|Iskāfī ; i.e., Abu 'l Kāsim 'Alī Iskāfī of Nīshāpūr, a noted secretary].

رسیدن

در رسیدن (with prep. به or with که) : "To ascertain." (Sh. N., IV, 1814).

فرستیم یک مرد تا در رسیدن که او نیکخواهست اگر مرد بد

I will send a person to ascertain if he is a friend or an enemy.

رشد (rashad, a form of rushd) : "The right way, rectitude." (M. II, 491).

تاكه آن بوسوی بستانت کشد تا نماید مر ترا داه دشد

In order that that scent may draw you to the Garden ; that it may show you the right way.

| "The Garden" is the World of the Divinity, عالم لاهوت ].

رشدیه : A "high school." (Beck's Pers. Gr., p. 485).

زندگانی فارغ التحصیل از ثینتاز (رشدیه) اثاث تقلیل برای تدریس دختران و پسران خرد سال حاضر است.

A lady who has finished her studies in the high school for girls in Tiflis, wishes to give instruction to young children of both sexes.

رشدیه : A suburb of Tabriz.

رعنا

: "Conceit." (L. A., I. 141). From a poem by Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Baghdād).

فضایل که مرا هست در فنون هنر اگر بگویم نوعی بود ز دعنای

If I should speak of the excellence I have in various branches of learning, it would be a species of conceit.

رفت : "To be committed," (as an offence). (Sh. N., IV, 1902).

تو دانی که من هر چه گویم بدو نه بیگد ز گفتاد من هیچ دو  
بغواهم گناهی که دفت از تو بیش به بخشد ز گفتار من تاج خویش

You know that whatever I say to him—he will in no way reject my words.

I will ask him to overlook the offence that was committed by you before—he would give his crown at my words.

—(with prep. (در) : "To be allowed" (as regards). (M., II., 491).

مسجد اهل قبا کان بد جماد آنچه کفو او نبد راهش نداد  
در جمادات این چنین حیفی نرفت زد دران ناکفو میر داد تفت

The mosque of the people of Kubā, which was an inorganic object—he did not admit that which was not its like to association with it.

Such a wrong was not allowed as regards inorganic substances : the lord of justice set fire to that unlike building.

—(with prep. (در) : "To be applicable, referable" (to). (M., II., 539).

این وسط در باهایت می دود که مرآن را اول و آخر بود

This middle is referable to the finite, because (the finite) has a beginning and an end.

—(with prep. (در) : "To interfere" (in), "to use authority" (as to). (M., II., 424).

جا هلست و غافلست از حال شان چون دود درخون شان و مال شان

He is ignorant and unaware of their affair ; how can he interfere in their lives and property ?

ركعت (rak'at) : "One complete act of worship, of a prescribed number and order of postures, motions and recitations." (Redhouse).

ندیدن : "To gnaw." (M., II., 501).

نفس موشی نیست لا لقمه دند قدر حاجت موش را عقلی دهند

The soul of the mouse is nothing but a gnawer of morsels : they give an intellect to the mouse to the extent of his needs.

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رنگها : "Manifest facts," (as of intellect). (M.. II, 368).

عقل خود دا مې نمايد د نګها چون پري دورست ازان فرسنگها

Intellect shows itself as in many manifest facts ; but, like a fairy, it is leagues distant from them.

[Intellect, as an entity, is distinguished here from its manifestations. The fairy was supposed to be invisible].

و (rū) (See دوى ).

کسان بروی : "For mere effect." (Sh. N., IV, 1853).

## سخن هرچه گوئی بروی کسان شود باد و کردار آن نارسان

Whatever speech you use for mere effect is thrown away, and the result of it is as nothing.

— — — (Sh. N., III, 1414).

نباشد که باشی فراوان سخن بروی کسان پارسائی مکن

You must not be profuse of speech ; exhibit no piety for mere effect.

**رَوْارُا (ravārau):** (Used for بانگ وادو in Sh. N., I, 484). “A trumpet blast announcing the approach of a great man.”

دوادو برآمد که بگشای داه که آمد نوائین گو تاج خواه

A warning blast arose (to signify), "Come, clear the way ! a wondrous hero, claimant to a crown, arrives."

دوح

<sup>1</sup> دوح امین “The faithful spirit.” (Applied to Muhammad in *Masnavi*, I, 184).

نام احمد چون حصاری شد حسین تا چه باشد ذات آن روح امین

The name of Ahmad is as an impregnable fortress ; then what must the essence of that faithful spirit be !

دوز

دوز اندر (for indefinitely) دوز آمدن (To go on indefinitely,) (as some proceeding). (Sh. N., III, 1450).

تودل خوش‌کن و شهرچندین مسوز نباید که روز اندر آید بروز

Be reconciled, and do not devastate the country so. (This strife) must not go on indefinitely.

### دوزگار

دوزگار بردن : “To lose time, to delay.” (Ch. M., p. 135).

مده زمان شان ازین بیش و دوزگار مبر که اژدها شود اد دوزگار یابد مار

Do not allow them any more time, do not delay ; for a snake, if it gain time, will become a dragon.

دوزگار پیجیدن : “To become unfortunate.” (Lit. “to twist fortune”). (Sh. N., I, 471).

به بینیم پاداش این رشت کار به پیچی بفرجام ازین دوزگار

We shall see the requital of this evil deed ; you will become at the end unfortunate through it.

[On the analogy of دوزگار سیاه کردن, but the expression might mean “to turn fortune away,” (e.g., from oneself)].

پئی دوزگاران بید سپردن (sapardan or sipardan) : “To pass the time, to live unfortunately.” (Sh. N., IV, 1805). See. سپردن .

دوشن : “Sincere, frank, strict ; almost, rough.”

ای دل آنجا دوکه با تو دوشنند و ز بلاها مر ترا چون جوشنند

Go, O heart, to the place where they are sincere with you, and are to you as a coat of mail against trials and afflictions.

[i.e., Go to the spiritual guide, who is sincere, and do not attend to the blandishments of worldly people].

——“Lighted up, illuminated, enlightened,” (as the body by the soul, or men by guidance). (Sh. N., III, 1456).

چو مغز و دل مردم آلوده گشت بنویسدی از دای پالوده گشت  
بدان در آسمیمه گردد روان سپه چون زید شاد بی پهلوان  
چو دوشن نباشند پیراگند تن بی روان دا بخاک افگندند

When the brain and the heart of men have become contaminated, and hopelessly drained of judgment,

The soul in the body becomes bewildered— how can an army live happily without a leader ?

When they are not enlightened, they scatter—the body without a soul is cast into the earth.

**دوی (دو)**

دُوی (with دا of person or thing) : “To be proper, suitable” (for). (Sh. N., IV, 1847).

برو تیز آن شیر دل را بگوی که اید ر ترا آمدن نیست دوی

She said, “ Go quickly, and tell that lion-hearted man that it is not suitable for him to come hither.”

دوی بیچیدن “ To decline.” (Sh. N., I, 475).

نگه کرد کر سیوز اندر گروی گروی ستمگر نه بیچید دوی

Garsīvaz looked at Garūy ; the tyrannical Garūy did not decline (to obey the implied command).

[Garsīvaz was the brother of Afrāsiyāb. The implied command was to kill Siyāvash, the latter’s son-in-law. Cf. دوی یافتن].

دوی داشتن (with prep. به) : “ To look ” (to), “ attend ” (to), “ obey.”

دوی دیدن “ To think reasonable proper.” (Sh. N., IV, 1732).

بیارام و بر خیره چیزی مجوی که فرزانگان آن نه بینند دوی

Remain quiet, and do not foolishly seek something that the wise do not think reasonable.

دوی دوشن بودن (for a person) : “ To be honoured and fortunate ; ” perhaps, “ welcomed.” (Sh. N., IV, 2002).

بایران اگر زن نبودی جزاین که خسرو برو خواندی آفرین  
نبودی چو شیرین بمشکوی او بهر جای دوشن بدی دوی او

If there were no women in Persia save those on whom Khusrau (Parvīz) bestowed his approval—

(Provided only that) one like Širīn were not in his palace, he would be honoured and fortunate in every place.

[The objection to Širīn was that she was a Christian].

“ Prospect, feasibility.” (I. N., p. 921).

چو آزادم ازین سروسمی نیست هی شد دویم و دوی هی نیست

Since I have no freedom from that straight cypress, my face has become a quince, and there is no prospect of recovery.

دوى هم دفته : "On an average." *Passim*.

— "Consciousness, mental perception." (Redhouse : "A perceiving mentally"). ('A. M., p. 332. See also p. 336).

فاما ذهب عن دوية القرب بالقرب بذلك قرب .

So when (the worshipper) departs from the consciousness of proximity (to God) in proximity, then that is (really) proximity.

[though here is an Arabic passage, may, of course, be used in Persian].

دیگ

دوان دیگ : (دوان دیگ) "Quicksand."

"دوان دیگ بر کوه بستن" To try to stick quicksand on to a mountain." (Sh. N., IV, 2036).

بداند که بهرام بسته میان ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان  
برومی سپاهی نشاید شکست نشاید دوان دیگ بر کوه بست

(He) will know that Bahrām (Chūbin), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause,

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be struck on to a mountain.

[ "Quicksand" symbolizes the Greeks, and "mountain" Bahrām-e Chūbin ; the sense being that the former cannot press or have any real effect upon the latter.

"Bahrām cannot be defeated, etc ." Lit. "it is not possible to defeat Bahrām, etc."].

(*To be continued*).

C. E. WILSON.

## CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

### FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE calamities of a great war, like the present one, are not confined to any walk of life. During Napoleonic wars, it was not considered quislingism if professors of England attended some learned function at the Sorbonne. Those good old days are, alas, no more. Wars too are now totalitarian ; they spare no activity of a country unaffected. We are denied even knowledge of what is going on in cultural matters in countries under non-friendly occupation. War has curtailed many useful cultural activities, and what little is allowed to continue is not easily known to the outside world.

The latest issue of the monthly *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmiy* of Damascus, received in India at the moment of writing these lines, is that of Muharram (February). It publishes a further instalment of the learned contribution by Muhammad Bahjat Bītār on classical commentaries on the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān has been attracting the young generation of Arabic scholars increasingly. About two years ago, Dr. Rāhatullāh Khān published in Leipzig a dissertation on the Effects of the Qur'ān on Arabic Poetry. Muhammad Salim al-Jundīy of Damascus has now written a monograph on the Style of the Qur'ān which is serially appearing in a Damascus monthly. It seems that the ever-increasing number of schools and circles in India for the diffusion of the teaching of the Qur'ān is not a local phenomenon, but a universal awakening all over the Muslim world. The Children's Commentary by the Tahrik-e-Qur'ān, Hyderabad, has been in demand from many parts of the globe, including South and East Africa.

Some time ago, Prof. Kraus of the Fu'ād I University of Egypt published *Muntakhab Rasā'il Jābir ibn-Haiyān*. The first volume of his learned introduction to this work is nearly printed, says a May message of Cairo. He has also edited a *Rasā'il al-Jāhiẓ* which is also in the press.

The same Cairo message informs us that the "Compilation, Translation and Publication Bureau" of Cairo has, in spite of war, completed the printing of *Al-Wathāiq as-Siyāsiyah* in over 400 pages. It consists of 288 diplomatic documents of the time of the Prophet and about a hundred

from the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, in order to complete the story of the Prophet's diplomacy. To each document is appended a complete bibliography. The work is decorated with many maps of the epoch-making battles of Badr, Uhud, Yarmuk, etc. It also reproduces photographs of many original letters attributed to the Prophet. Further, there are maps to illustrate the conquests of the times of the Prophet and his four Orthodox Caliphs, which not only determine the extent of conquests, but also locate places connected with the history of that time. The documents, which are arranged chronologically and regionally, give a vivid idea of the diplomatic developments in regions connected with the budding Muslim Empire, from its origin to half a century later. We hope that restricted and precarious war-time communications will still not deny India the benefits of this publication.

The *Bibliotheca Islamica* of Istanbul has just brought out its 12th publication, namely the Persian Poem, *الْأَرْضَ نَمَاءٌ* of Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār.

## DECCAN

### *Conferences Announced*

IT has now been decided that in December next the Political Science Conference will take place in Bombay. It has now added a special Section for Muslim Political Thought.

The Indian History Congress and the All-India Oriental Conference will meet in the metropolis of the Nizām, at the invitation of the Osmania University. Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī has been elected general president of the Oriental Conference, Dr. Zubair Siddiqī of the Islamic Section, and Dr. M. Husain Nainār of the Arabic and Persian Section.

### *Golden Jubilee of Hyderabad State-Library.*

Owing to climatic conditions in and after February, the celebration of the jubilee has been postponed until July. The essay competition on a survey of libraries in the Deccan proved a great success. These essays will be published in book form.

### *New Periodicals and Publications.*

Two important Urdu journals have begun to appear in Hyderabad. *Mamlakat* is a weekly, edited by Mir Hasnuddīn, a prominent figure among Osmania alumni. The other is a governmental monthly, an information bulletin on and about the Nizām's Dominions. This has also Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi and English editions besides Urdu. We wish them success and useful service.

Mullā 'Abdul Qaiyūm was a very active and prominent figure in Hyderabad, and even in Indian politics, during the last generation. The local monthly *Nizāmiāh* has brought out a special number wholly devoted to the life and work of this national servant of varied interests. Among the more interesting contributions, the one by Muhammad Mazhar, Secretary of the Hyderabad Educational Conference, is of unusual importance owing to its wealth of information and penetrating criticism with first-hand knowledge and authority. We congratulate the *Nizāmiāh* on this great service to the memory of that outstanding figure.

كتاب الکنی و المکان both by al-Bukhāriy.

### *Religious Education of Females.*

Hyderabad has taken the lead in a new orientation of education. Unlike its neighbours, it has made religious instruction a part and parcel of government educational policy, and from primary schools up to the B.A. and B.Sc. examinations, religious instruction forms part of the curriculum. No exception has been made for girl students, and happily so. But unfortunately there has been until now no provision for training teachers to teach this subject. For boys there are at least the Theology Faculty of the Osmania University and the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiāh where they can make specialised higher studies of Muslim religion. For girls, however, even this much is wanting. The result is that every year examiners complain of the low standard of girls in the paper on compulsory theology. It is gratifying to learn that the Prime Minister of Hyderabad is taking a personal interest in the matter and examining the possibilities of opening at least one girls' high school affiliated to the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiah in order to provide better and more suitable candidates for the posts of lady teachers of theology in girls' schools and colleges.

### *Society for the Revival of Hanafī Classics.*

The *Ihyā' al-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniyah* of Hyderabad has acquired several new MSS. on the classics of Hanafī jurisprudence. Although the present war and the consequent soaring of prices of paper have necessarily stopped all new publications on the part of the Society, its members are busily engaged, as ever before, in editing and preparing for publication the many gems they have been able to collect. The task of editing classical MSS., especially when one has to rely on unique copies of a not very careful scribe, is one of the most tedious of tasks. The high standard the society has maintained in all of its six publications, works by Abū-Hanīfah, Abū-Yūsuf' Ash-Shaibāniy, etc., has elicited praise from four continents. Its annual meeting has taken place during the trimester under review, and new office-bearers have been elected.

*Missionary Propaganda against the Prophet.*

It is often regretted in the Islamic world that Christian missionaries so deliberately misrepresent the Prophet of Islam. Not only this attitude is purely and simply un-Christian, but it is also incomprehensible why they make personal attacks when even polemical writings of Muslims against Christianity never speak ill of the holy men of Christianity. On the other hand Jesus Christ is so much honoured by the Muslims that he is considered as one of the four most prominent Prophets of God, which four include Muhammad himself. The latest example of pernicious missionary propaganda is an article in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* about which the Hyderabad Press is continuously protesting and drawing the attention of the Hyderabad Government.

*An Encyclopædia in Urdu.*

Although Urdu is one of the learned languages of the world, in which work is done for the highest university degrees in arts and sciences, it is curious that there is not one encyclopædia in the language. Schemes were launched several times during the last fifty years but nothing has so far come of them. The *Idārah Adabiyāt Urdu* of Hyderabad, with its modest means, has now seriously taken up the matter, and the preliminary work of deciding the headings to be dealt with has practically been completed. We hope its attempt will succeed and pave the way for better editions as it is enriched by experience.

*Islamic Economics.*

In March last, after the 'Cultural Activities' of the *Islamic Culture* of the last issue had gone to press, the Society for Lending Money without Interest (Anjuman Mu'ayidul Ikhwān) of Hyderabad celebrated its golden jubilee. There was a large gathering of ministers, judges, ulema, *mashā'ikh*, etc., including about ten thousand ladies. The issue of 22nd March 1941 of the local daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan* gives a detailed description. The report of the Society showed that its beginning was very humble, yet during the last fifty years it was able to lend over half a million rupees without interest. The capital has now reached five figures, and the amount available for lending is increasing. Among many lectures delivered on the occasion, Dr. Hamīdullāh's was on the importance of the pioneer work of this Society, and he said : 'Although there are now in the city of Hyderabad societies which yearly lend more than half a million rupees without interest and thus co-operate in the holy work of eradicating the evil of usury, the credit of first setting an example goes to this Society.' Dr. Anwar Iqbāl Quraishī described at length how the West has now realised,

at least in principle, that the more civilised a nation is the less high is the rate of interest on its loans. According to Prof. John Maynard Keynes of Cambridge University, all economic ills, including unemployment, are traceable to loans with interest. The lecturer spoke of the differences that distinguish Islamic principles from Capitalism and Communism and Socialism, and said : 'The world is unconsciously drifting to the Islamic laws of economics.'

### *The Late Waliur-Rahmān.*

We regret to record the death of our valued contributor, Prof. Mu'taṣid Waliur-Rahmān of the Osmania University at an early age. He was an authority on psychology, and was one of those who unostensibly disentangle themselves from the world and concentrate on the pursuit of their object without caring in the least what material injustices are perpetrated on them, which they stoically bear. He generally wrote small articles with deep insight, many of which appeared in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* during the last several years.

M. H.

### *Indo-Muslim Architecture.*

Although in general appearance, specimens of Indo-Muslim architecture seem to be different from one another, fundamentally they are the same, observed Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtāī in his Extension Lecture at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on *Indo-Muslim Architecture*. He illustrated his lecture with about forty slides which were ably arranged and selected to illustrate the main problem. The lecturer said that Muslims had a different culture from that of India and in consequence they created a different architecture from that already existing in this country. The dome of the Tāj was the most distinct type of the style which had been defined by the contemporary historians as the pear-shaped dome, of which no specimen existed in this country before. In several details the Indo-Muslim monuments originated in Central Asian and Persian architecture.

### *Jamshed Nav-Rōz.*

Quite unlike other Indian Provinces, the Bombay Presidency represents a wonderful phenomenon in the celebration of various festival of different communities residing there. It is rather difficult to count them in terms of numbers, but the celebration of the Parsi New Year is

a distinct feature among them. This *Jamshed Nav-Rōz* is observed all over Bombay with great solemnity, on which recently Khwāja Mushtāq Ahmad has contributed a learned article to the Sunday Edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and has traced it from the very early history of Iran. He says that during the Sassanian regime in Persia *Nav-Rōz* was celebrated with dazzling and coloured gaiety. The Great Mughals of India were lovers of pomp and probably this was the motive that caused Akbar to order celebration of *Nav-Rōz* throughout his empire. On this day the Great Mughal ascended the throne at an auspicious hour previously selected by the royal astrologers. The court resounded with songs and dances. His Majesty was greeted by the Omrah. *Mīnā Bazār* was held inside the seraglio. It was a mock bazar conducted by the most charming ladies of the aristocracy. This essentially Persian festival survived in Iran after the Islamic conquest, and even to-day it is celebrated with the same enthusiasm after the lapse of hundreds of years.

#### *Glowing Tributes to the late Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān.*

Mr. 'Alī Muhammad Mecklai, President of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, moved a resolution of condolence which *inter alia* declared : "Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān was one of the foremost intellectuals of the country. A jurist of great acumen and brilliance, a scientist and physicist of repute. He had also considerable literary gifts, particularly in Urdu. He was a man of independent judgement and great vision, and in him India loses a great jurist, educationist, scientist and gentleman. This meeting of the Islamic Research Association offers its deep sympathy and condolence to Lady Sulaimān and the family of Sir Shāh Sulaimān."

Sir John Beaumont, the Chief Justice of the Bombay Presidency High Court, observed that Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān died at the early age of fifty-five, at which many distinguished English judges only began their judicial career, and he had been twenty-one years on the Bench. No one could read his judgements without being struck by the depth of his learning, the subtlety of his reasoning and the industry which he devoted to his work. Many tributes were paid to the deceased by a number of distinguished public men on the occasion.

#### *A Discussion on Books relating to Islamic Culture.*

At the Annual Meeting of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, a very interesting discussion on important and valuable books took place, which had already been published. Dr. Muhammad Bazlu'r-Rahmān, the Principal of the Sir Isma'il Yusuf College, Bombay, gave a description of the *History of the Arabs* by Hitṭī which was well received by the audience. Mrs. 'Atiya Begum Fyzī Rahmān, speaking of the secret mysteries of the

classical melodies of Hindustan, appealed to the Islamic Research Association to take up the task of popularising rare books on music. Dr. H. F. Al-Hamdānī made a very important contribution regarding the History of Oman by presenting to the audience a recent publication on :

أخبار اهل عمان من اول اسلامهم الى اختلاف كلمتهم

He pointed out : " There is no work in the classical historical literature of the Arabs which gives us a complete account of the relations that existed between Oman and the rest of the Islamic world. The people of Oman have played no mean a part in the history of Islam, and particularly in the annals of the Arabs, but unfortunately orthodox historians have refrained from giving even a bare outline of the Ibadite State whose foundation was laid early in the second century of the Islamic Era... So far we have had M. Guillain's brief yet admirable account of the history of Oman, based upon a Zanzibar MS. of a chronicle written by Abu Sulaymān Muḥammad bin Amīr bin Rāshid. We have also had the English translation of relevant portions from an anonymous work—*Kashfu'l-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li Akhbār al-Umma*—made by E. C. Ross, the then Resident of Maskat, published in 1874 under the title—*Annals of Oman from early Times to the Year 1728 A.D.* The Hakluyt Society published in 1871 G. P. Badger's book—*History of the Imāms and Sayyids of Oman* which is a translation of *Kitabu'l-Fath al-Mubīn fī Sirat as-Sādāt al-Busā'idīn*. The MS. of this work is preserved in the University Library of Cambridge." Recently Dr. Miss Hedwig Klein discovered a MS. of *Kashfu'l-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li Akhbār al-Umma* in the library of the Seminar of Oriental Languages in Berlin, and has prepared a critical text of the XXXIII Chapter of *Kashfu'l-Ghumma*, dealing with the history of Oman during the first three centuries of Islam and has taken great pains in fixing once for all the text of this important document. Thus she has rendered great service to the cause of Arabian history. In conclusion the speaker said : " Dr. Klein's dissertation is a type of work which, I hope, our university students of research would do well to imitate." The book was published at Hamburg in 1938.

Mr. S. F. B. Tyabji spoke in appreciation of a German publication on Indian Painting—the *Illustrated Edition of Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* by H. Gluck. This monumental work was prepared in the very early days of the Mughal Empire under the guidance of two great Persian artists, Mir Sayyad 'Ali Tabrezi and Khwāja Abduṣ Samad. Dr. M. A. Chaghtāī gave some further information with particular reference to the work carried out in this connection by Mr. Stanley Clark of the Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, in collaboration with Prof. H. M. Shairānī.

### *The Prophet Muḥammad's Service to Humanity.*

Almost all over India speeches interspersed with poetical compositions paying homage to the memory of the Prophet Muḥammad—peace be

upon him—were made at the public meetings on 12th of the Rabi'ū'l-Avval, the day of the birth of the Prophet. The meeting at the Cowasji Jahangir Hall, Bombay, was a very successful and distinguished one represented by 120 Muslim organizations. It was addressed by many learned scholars belonging to all communities. It was unanimously maintained that the Prophet gave the Muslims the lesson of universal toleration allowing Christians, Jews and other non-Muslims every freedom for practising their religion. He even allowed his mosque to be used by the Christians for their Sunday prayers. One of the speakers, Mr. Pickley, said that the prophet of Islam was born thirteen centuries ago in a land which was ridden by superstitions and all the evils that flesh is heir to. It was, however, the will of God that this man of no education should bear the torch of His Divine message and illuminate the path of humanity, groping in the dark for faith and light. The speaker said that the creed of Islam could be summarised in three words—Faith, Love, Action ; Faith in the One and only Almighty God, Love for Him and His creation, and Action for those simple principles of life preached by the Prophet.

M. A. C.

### NORTH-EAST INDIA

THE Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, has now published the second volume of its series of the *History of Islam*. This volume treats at length the history of the Ommayyid dynasty. Its chief merit is that, apart from political conditions and military conquests, it deals exhaustively with the social, moral, economic, administrative and literary conditions of the period. It has also made a critical study of various allegations levelled against the Ommayids.

The sad and premature death of Sir Shāh Sulaimān, Judge of the Federal Court, is not only an irreparable loss to India, but a great blow to the world of science also. India lost in him a great lawyer, a sound mathematician and a versatile scientist. He was a lover of Urdu literature and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Muslim education and learning. His new theory of Relativity, which attracted attention of some of the eminent scientists of Europe, could not be worked out in all its details in his lifetime, and it will require a man of equal talent and calibre to save it from being buried in oblivion. We hope, however, that the National Academy of Science, Allahabad, which had the privilege of many years to have the late Sir Shāh Sulaimān as its president, will do something to carry on the work to a successful conclusion.

Sir Shāh Sulaimān was also making arrangements to publish Al-Beruni's *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī* under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh. He wanted this book to be rendered into Urdu, English and German, and a good many chapters were already translated into these

languages under his able supervision. We hope the Muslim University of Aligarh will honour the sacred memory of its late Vice-Chancellor by publishing this valuable work of one of the greatest scholars of Asia.

The Kitābistān, Allahabad, has issued a nicely printed brochure in English, namely *Urdu for Adults* by Ṣahibzāda Sa'īduzzafar Khān, formerly Principal of the Medical College, Lucknow. This brochure is very helpful for teachers who are interested in the Urdu literacy campaign, as the author describes his own method which he has evolved after ten years of experiments with adults in various grades of society. It is also useful for English-knowing foreigners, who wish to learn Urdu in a few days.

The *Al-Farqān*, Bareilly, has recently loomed large by producing useful literature on the political thinkers and religious reformers of the Muslim period in India. It has published special numbers on Shāh Ismā'il Shahid (the Martyr) and on the Mujaddid Alf Thānī, who purged Islam of all its heterodox elements and pantheistic Sufism in the days of Akbar and Jehangir, and tried to make political dogmas conform to the orthodox tenets of Islam. The magazine has now brought out a special bulky work on Shāh Wali Ullah, who was a great religious and political force in the 12th century A.H.

He flourished in a period which was noted for the political disruption of the Muslim Empire, and religious decay and economic disintegration of Muslim society. But undeterred by such adverse circumstances he preached amongst his co-religionists a new religious philosophy to counteract the evils corroding Islamic society and polity. This edition of *Al-Farqān* aims to giving an elaborate exposition of his religious and political philosophy. Some of the learned articles are : The state of affairs in India before Shāh Wali Ullah ; the place of Shāh Wali Ullah in the history of reforms and revolutions of Islam ; Was Shāh Wali Ullah a revolutionary or a reformer ( : Mujaddid ) ? A brief introduction to Shāh Wali Ullah's philosophy, the causes of the downfall of Muslim rule in India, as viewed by Shāh Wali Ullah ; Shāh Wali Ullah as an author, etc., etc.

The *Ma'ārif* (Azamgarh), reports in its latest issue (May 1941) that the Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, has published a Basic Word List of the Arabic daily newspapers. According to this study 2,300 words comprise 90 per cent. of all the words in daily use. The study was made by taking two daily newspapers, one published in Cairo, the other in Jaffa, and reading them for a year and recording the words in editorial notes, local and foreign news, etc. These words are likely to form the basic vocabulary in the teaching of the Arabic language to pupils whose main purpose is to acquire a working knowledge of the daily Press. This may perhaps induce a movement for establishing a basic Arabic of 1,000 words comparable with the basic English vocabulary.

The *Ma'ārif* has recently contributed many interesting and thoughtful articles, e.g., one on the life and works of Abul Barakāt, the great scholar

of Baghdad. Another gives a comparative study of Iqbāl and Bergson. 'The influence of Urdu on Persian literature' forms a very useful reading. 'A Manuscript of Rubā'yyāt Samānī,' and "Rubā'yyāt Khayyām in Marsad-ul-'Abād' are also worth mentioning.

In the publication of a monthly Urdu journal 'Ma'asir' from Patna we find a welcome sign of the growth of literary consciousness amongst the teaching staff of the Patna University. Patna possesses an unsurpassed amount of literary wealth in the Khuda Bukhsh Khan Oriental Library. Some articles published in this journal deserve special notice. One is on *Diwān-i-Humāyūn Pādshāh*, for the first time bringing to light a collection of verses composed by the Mughal Emperor, Humāyūn. A reference to the *Diwān-i-Humāyūn* is found in *Akbar Nāmah*, but the work was long untraced. We are glad to know that now it has been found in a library of a village of Bihar. Another writer has made a critical study of two manuscripts *Dilkusha* and *Mufidul Inshā*, which throw interesting sidelights on the Mughal period. Dr. Hidāyat Hosain of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has made a valuable addition to our knowledge of Muslim rule in India by editing a manuscript entitled *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* by Khwand Mir. The author served Bābar, and after him Humāyūn till the end of his life. His book gives a vivid account of the system of administration which prevailed during the reigns of those two Emperors, and also of political ideas and ideals which gave shape to those systems. It also describes some of the ingenious inventions of Humāyūn. For example, he invented a portable wooden house consisting of comfortable rooms and apartments, which could be taken to pieces, carried from one place to another and then reconstructed into a dwelling place. He also built boats of several storeys and floated a city of boats with roads and markets. This city moved sometimes from Delhi to Agra on the Jumna. Humāyūn was highly fond of astronomy and some astronomical instruments made by the Emperor are mentioned in this book. An abridgment of the above book is found in *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, but the publication of the original text will be very useful to scholars interested in the history and civilization of the Mughal Empire.

A book entitled *Shujā'-ud-Daulah* by Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava throws some fresh light on the life of Shujā'-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh and traces developments in Oudh from 1754 to 1765 describing in detail the causes of the Nawab's downfall in 1764, and the expansion of British power over the Ganges Valley.

The chairman of Islamic Studies in the Dacca University is conducting research on Contributions of Indian scholars to *Hadīth* literature. It is hoped that the research will be exhaustive and comprehensive, as it will be based on all available literature on the subject.

## NORTH-WEST INDIA

*Tributes to Iqbāl.*

AT the celebration in connection with the *Iqbāl Day*, held in the University Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the University Union in the month of March, Iqbāl was described by various speakers not only as one of the greatest poets of the world but also a political prophet who first visualised the ideal of a separate Muslim State in India. Paying his tribute to the memory of the poet, Mr. Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnāh who was specially invited to the meeting, said : ' The message of Iqbāl had reached the farthest corners of the world. He was the greatest interpreter of Islam in modern times. I have had the privilege and opportunity of being associated with him. I have never found a more true and more loyal colleague than he.

Mr. Tassaduq Hussain Khālid said in the course of his paper on *Iqbāl's Conception of Man* that Iqbāl was a poet neither of a nation nor of a creed but of humanity. Iqbāl's message was a revolt against everything that hampered the spontaneous and wholesome growth of man's personality. He carried a ruthless crusade in verse against those systems of mysticism which teach us to say ' No ' to life.

Dr. Miss Khadija Begum delivering her convocation address at the Islamia College for Women, Anjuman-i-Himāyat Islām, Lahore, quoted Iqbāl and pointed out to the audience that self-realisation and self-confidence are the secret of life which is hidden behind the veil of effort, and its root is desire. She emphasised the unique standard of self-respect which Islam has imposed, refusing permission to bowing and prostrating before any object of creation. Exhorting youngmen to learn Iqbāl's lesson of constant self-exertion, she quoted these lines with effect : " Do not array your assembly on the coast-line, for there the tune of the song of life is gentle and low. Jump into mid-ocean and grapple with the tide, as everlasting life is the result of this struggle only."

*Turning-points in Islamic History.*

Some time back Mr. Muḥammad Abdulla Enan of Egypt wrote a thesis on the *Decisive Moments in the History of Islam* in Arabic, which he has now translated into English and published at Lahore. According to the author there has been an eternal conflict of East and West. He has traced the amazing and rapid expansion of Islam westwards in the century of its origin. The decline of the Byzantine Empire and the rapid adoption of Islamic faith are well explained. Two decisive checks to the spread of Islam were the failure to capture of Constantinople in 678 and 717 and the defeat at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. The author has given a very interesting account of the invention and use of the Greek Fire which

created such terror in the minds of adversaries ; its secret was discovered by the Arabs and used against the Crusaders in the 13th century. A particularly interesting piece is the analysis of the diplomatic relations of Hārūn al-Rāshid and Charlemagne. Another section of the book is devoted to the downfall of Muslim rule in Spain. Mr. Enan has also compared Marco Polo with Ibn Baṭūta as travellers, showing that the latter being a Muslim was better able to judge Islamic countries.

### *Calendar of Persian Correspondence.*

Recently the Government of India Historical Record Commission has published a volume under the title *Calendar Persian Correspondence* that passed between the Governor-General and other agents of the East Indian Company on one hand, and Indian princes, chieftains and other important personalities on the other, during the years 1785-87. This period was marked by the machinations of Mahdaji Sindha who was an ally of the English, against the Mahratta Peshwa, and later by the eclipse of Sindha and the rise to favour of Ghulām Qādir in the Imperial Court, where factions and troubles had set in. In South India, Tipū, with his power undiminished, had just succeeded for the time in turning the scales against the English by a timely treaty with the Nizām and the Peshwa. The Campaign at Lalkot in Rajputana is fully described in the correspondence. More important, however, are the sidelights thrown by the letters on the social and economic conditions of the times. In short, this volume provides very useful data on the history of India of that period.

### *Anjuman Himāyat-e-Islām, Lahore.*

The three-days Annual Session of the Anjuman Himāyat-e-Islām, Lahore, held during the Easter Holidays was marked by three learned speeches delivered by Moulāna Habibū'r-Rahmān Khān Shirwānī, Sayed Sulaimān Nadvī and Dr. Moulvī Abdul Haq. All the three spoke on their special subjects with their usual ease and felicity. Dr. Moulvī gave a linguistic survey of the country in his presidential address and Miān Bashir made a fervent appeal to the Anjuman to take up the cause of Urdu, and urged the establishment of an Urdu University in the Panjab. A resolution urging the Government to introduce the teaching of the Holy Book for Muslim students in the government recognised primary schools was unanimously passed.

### *'Ismā'il Shahīd Day at Lahore.*

"Since the Orthodox Khilāfat, Islam has produced few Muslims of the real Islamic type like Moulānā Muḥammad Ismā'il," said Dr. Muḥammad

Baqir of the Panjab University, Oriental College, Lahore, speaking in the Habibia Hall, Lahore, on the occasion of the celebration of Ismā'il Shahid Day recently. The martyr's family traces its pedigree to 'Omar, the second Khalifa. He was born on the 28th Shavvāl, 1196 A.H. (1781 A.D.) in the village Phulah, near Delhi and was brought up and educated by his uncle, Shāh Abdul Qādir.

He started his life as a teacher and preacher in Delhi. The general spirit by which he was animated, was the ardent profession of Islam in its primitive simplicity, and the utter rejection of all idolatrous or superstitious innovations, whencesoever derived. He also performed a pilgrimage in the company of his religious guide, Sayyad Ahmad, and during his stay in Hijāz came in contact with learned scholars of different Islamic countries, from whom he learnt the prevailing conditions in those countries. The distressed and degraded condition to which the Indian Muslims had of late been reduced compared with the prosperous state of their co-religionists elsewhere seemed much more deplorable and excited the patriotic zeal of Moulvi Ismā'il on his return to India. In company with his master, Sayyad Ahmad, he led a Jihād against the Sikhs, won a number of brilliant victories but taken by surprise at Bālākoh, a place near Mansehra, fell in 1831.

Moulvi Ismā'il has written many books and his *Taqwiyatul Imān* is still popular. From the commencement of his career, his attention was engaged by the religious irregularities which had crept into Islam, as well as the miseries of his fellow creatures in Islam. He succeeded in a great measure in reforming the former, but lost his life in attempting to alleviate the other.

#### *Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.*

Dr. Sayyad Abdulla of the Oriental College, Lahore, has contributed a long and comprehensive article on the *World of Urdu After the Great War*. In the domain of Urdu poetry, Akbar of Allahabad, Chakbast of Lucknow, Iqbāl, Zafar 'Ali Khān, Hasrat, Fānī, Asghar and others are noticed and the writer has discussed the characteristics of each poet. Besides well-known writers of the older generation, many young authors of promise are also given due place in this résumé.

Dr. Muhammad Bāqir has contributed a long paper on the *Qissā Mahtāb Shāh wa Shahzāda Saf Shikan* which he found in the form of a MS. in the Panjab University Library. It was composed by Mīr Sādiq 'Alī in 1199 A.H., and presents a good specimen of the language of that period.

#### *Urdu, the Lingua Franca of India.*

Dr. Moulvi 'Abdul Haq, the Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, addressed a memorable letter to Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney on

the prospects of popularising the Urdu language amongst the Anglo-Indian community and the desirability of including it in the curriculum of their primary and secondary schools throughout India. The writer significantly recalls that the status of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India, owes not a little to the official Anglo-Indian patronage from the beginning of the last century, synchronising with the political predominance of the British in India. He has appended copies of some statements made by high Anglo-Indian authorities to show how greatly they appreciated the worth and value of this common medium of parlance in the vast sub-continent of India having hundreds of different local dialects. "But," continues the learned Doctor, "what may not be generally known is the peculiar fact that probably Urdu is the only living non-British—and certainly the one Indian vernacular in which members of your English race have left a very substantial volume of poetry—by no means of mean calibre..."

Sir Henry Gidney replied to Dr. Moulvi 'Abdul Haq in a very encouraging letter which says : " I agree in all you have so clearly explained why Urdu should be made widely taught especially in Anglo-Indian and European schools in India. Indeed it is my considered opinion that next to English the Urdu language is the *lingua franca* of India. . . . . "

M. A. C.

## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

**THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS**, by Dr. P. Saran :  
*Kitābistān, Allahabad, 1941* ; price Rs. 9.

IT is five years since the late Dr. Ibn-i Hasan's study of the central structure of the Mughal Empire was published by the Oxford University Press, and it is a very great pity that although, as he once told the reviewer himself, he had collected materials for one volume on the Provincial Government of the Mughal Empire and another on its Local Government, he was snatched away from us in the prime of life before he could carry out his plan. Dr. Saran of the Benares Hindu University has done a great service to Mediæval Indian institutions by bringing out this remarkable book, which may be regarded as a companion volume to Dr. Ibn-i Hasan's work.

As the author himself says in his preface, 'the subject of Mughal polity forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the Mughal Empire,' and every word of the book tells the story of the author's own deep interest in the subject. He has delineated with remarkable insight practically every institution which had to do with provincial administration, and has traced its history from pre-Mughal times right up to the end of the Mughal Empire, leaving no detail unutilised which he could secure from original authorities. The chapters deal, with directly governed provinces, subordinate States, provincial structure, provincial administration, provincial army, provincial finance, law and justice, police and jails, public works (irrigation, communications,

post, recreation and enjoyment, famine relief), and a host of other matters.

The most refreshing part of the book is the criticism of the mishandling of Mughal institutions by certain writers, and most of this is thoroughly convincing to the reader. Thus when Moreland takes Sir Thomas Roe's list, of the administrative divisions of the Empire under Jahangir a little too seriously, Dr. Saran goes into much detail, and after having delved into authorities, both Indian and European, comes to the conclusion that "Roe, in order to make it appear in keeping with his dignity and influence at Court, gave a list prepared at random from memory the importance of a document emanating from no less a source than the 'King's Register' itself."

Dr. Saran's criticism is always very convincing and dignified, even though the party criticised may have a name with a certain amount of authority attached to it. Thus while describing the judicial system of the Mughal Empire in all its aspects, Dr. Saran almost tears to shreds the theory propounded by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*. It is better to quote Dr. Saran himself :

"The most typical and definite opinion in this respect is that of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *viz.*, that 'the main defect of the department of Law and Justice was that there was no system, no organisation of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them.' But it is curious that the above statement is followed by

the following remarks : ' Every provincial capital had its Qazi, appointed by the supreme Qazi of the Empire (the Qazi-ul-Quzat). A Qazi was posted to every large town and seat of a faujdar. The smaller towns and villages had no Qazi of their own.' On page 27 of the same book again, he makes an even more effective statement, *viz.*, ' Every city and even large village had its local Qazi, who was appointed by the chief Qazi'."

The picture which Dr. Saran has painted is perfect in every detail, and he never fails to be hard on any one who dares to theorise without sufficient reason or data, about the grandeur that was the Mughal Empire. '*The Provincial Government of the Mughals*' is one of the most thought-provoking volumes yet published on the subject. The printing and get-up are excellent and do credit to the Publishing House, the Kitābistān of Allahabad. The book is dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

H. K. S.

**OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE**, by Dr. Ishwara Topa, Reader in History, Osmania University. (Kitabistan, Allahabad ; price Rs. 3.

THE book contains two studies :  
 1. Cultural Trends in Ancient India.  
 2. The Indo-Muslim Kingships as a Cultural Force.

In the first portion of the book the author has built up his thesis of the Aryan Adventure in India and the consequent revolt against the supremacy of priesthood. In this connection, the author has traced the different philosophic and religious movements which shaped the life of society in those days.

In the second part of the book, Dr. Topa has given a penetrating analysis of Indo-Muslim Kingship and the motives which inspired it to adapt its institutions to the conditions obtaining in India in those days and thus not only to dominate outwardly but to rule over the hearts of the people of India.

**MEDIÆVAL INDIA UNDER MUSLIM KINGS**, Vol. II, by S. M. Jaffar. (Published by S. M. Sadiq Khan, Khudadad Street, Peshawar).

THE volume under review deals with the rise and fall of the Ghaznavid dynasty. The author seems to have availed himself of the latest researches on the period covered by this volume. Besides the narrative of political events some chapters have also been devoted to the cultural activities and the form of government of this period. The copious footnotes in the book add to its value to scholars.

Y. H.

**WHEN PEACOCKS CALLED** by Hilda Seligman; John Lane, The Bodley Head ; price 7s. 6d.

AN excellent story of the glorious days of the Mauriya dynasty (from Chandragupta to Asoka) in fictional form, embodying interesting information about Buddhist India and its culture. Asoka's great empire as established on principles of Ahimsa is held up as a model to the modern world so miserably suffering from the practice of violence.

**PAKISTĀN : A NATION**, published by Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore ; price Rs. 3.

THE anonymous author ("Al-Hamza") of this book has spared no pains to reiterate the fundamental diversity of the huge Indian population to justify his plea for a division of India into sever States on physical and cultural grounds—more or less following the scheme of an Indian Confederacy attributed to Si Sikandar Hyat Khan. Al-Hamza condemns the opposition of the "Hindustar Banias" to Pakistan in rather strong language. He is exasperated by the "hypocrisy of Wardha politicians" which "blasphemes the heaven with an air of spirituality...."

The book is well got-up and illustrated with 26 maps and diagrams. Altogether a vigorous contribution to the political literature growing up around the so-called Pākistan resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore and re-emphasised last year at Madras.

S.

اللهي نامہ : ILĀHI NĀMĒ by Farīduddīn 'Attār, edited by H. Ritter, Ma'ārif Press, Istanbul, 1940, pp. 30-440-16.

*Bibliotheca Islamica* is a famous and useful series in course of publication at Istanbul during the last few years. Its 12th volume, which has just come out, is the Persian poetical work of the famous Sūfi poet, Farīduddīn 'Attār, printed in December 1940, and available in India only now. It is a thick volume of about 500 neatly printed pages with indices.

As usual the edition is critical. Owing to war, manuscripts of public libraries in Istanbul have been removed to safety, and the editor was constrained not to utilise some of the better MSS. relating to certain portions of the work.

The poem consists of dialogues between a son and his father, who admonishes his son and illustrates his points of view with stories which fill the bulk of the volume.

The learned foreword of the editor is printed both in German and Persian.

*TRAVELS IN YEMEN*, an account of Joseph Halévy's Journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in San'āni Arabic by his guide, Hayyim Habshush, edited with a detailed summary in English and a glossary of vernacular words by S.D. Goitin, Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1941, pp. 138 + 102.

JOSEPH Halévy was a famous French Jew who visited Yemen about 70 years ago, and later published several hundred Sabean inscriptions found in different parts of Arabia Felix, procured

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mostly with the help of his untiring and resourceful local guide, Habshush. The present volume is a sort of diary kept by this guide of what happened to him and his master in their quest for archæological finds. The diary is partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic, of the dialect of San' though transcribed in Hebrew characters as is wont with Jews. Many Beduin customs, the treatment of Jews in Yaman in the last century, and many anecdotes of adventure and misadventure are recorded in this interesting little volume.

M. H.

*DECISIVE MOVEMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF ISLĀM* by Muhammad Abdullah Enan (published by Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore); price Rs. 4-8-0.

THE main idea of this book is represented by its title. It deals with the decisive encounters between the East and West, between Islam and Christendom. This is the most important subject of Islamic history, rich as it is in abundant and eventful episodes in the fields of war and peace. In both cases the encounters and contacts brought about most far-reaching effects on the destinies of the East and the West.

Besides the decisive events of military nature such as the Arab Siege of Constantinople, the conquest of Crete, Sicily, Corsica and the south of Italy, the Moslem invasion of Rome, the fall of Toledo, the Battle of Zallaka, the fall of Granada, the author has also dealt in a most interesting manner with problems of such cultural significance as Slavery in the Middle Ages, Chivalry, its History, Principles and Conventions, Diplomacy in Islam and the Intellectual Legacy of Moslem Spain in the Escorial.

This book is the result of the mature scholarship of the author whose insight into Islamic history is apparent on every page of this dispassionate and impartial inquiry.

Y. H.

## ADDENDA

### TO ISLAMIC CULTURE, VOL. XIV, PP. 387-422.

The great delay in postal communications due to the war has prevented the proofs of my article and the additions which I was to make, from arriving at the printer's in time. Therefore, I may be permitted here to give a few more references collected by me since August, 1939, when my manuscript went to press. They illustrate, still more amply, the diffusion in Arabic literature of the Platonic ideas treated in the article. The typographical errors which crept in in spite of the printer's diligence, are corrected only in as far as their correction seems to me completely indispensable for an easy understanding.

p. 388, note 2 : Cf. now P. Kraus' edition of ar-Rāzī, *Opera Philosophica*, Vol. I, *Universitatis Fouadi I Litt. Fac. Publ. Fasc. XXII*, Cairo, 1939, p. 99.

p. 389, line 9 : ... the only work of this special type of literature.

p. 389, note 3 : Another manuscript of Mubashshir's work is in Berlin MS. or. fol., 3,100, written in Jerusalem in 1320/1902. Its relation to the manuscript in London has to be investigated.

p. 391, note 1, line 8 : given an astrological interpretation..; line 10 : Venice 1519 ; line 14 : ﷺ read : الْا اشَدْ ; line 15 : (*Unus ex ;!*) ; line 17 : Ptol. III, 1, should be read in the beginning of the line ; same line : The manuscript has لِفَ ; line 23 : مَا read : الْمَا ; same line : 2 should be ? ; line 26 : *de Gen. Anim.*, 726 A ss. ; same line : φυσ. χκρ. 194 B 13. line 27 : اَنْ كَيْ .

p. 394, note 2 : Now I would definitely prefer the reading Miskawayh, since this is the vocalization of the MS. or. Marsh. 662=Uri No. 292 at the end (cf. also the Catalogue of Nicoll, p. 576). It may be noted that this manuscript has the vocalization *kharadh*.

p. 394, note 3 : Meanwhile, I had an opportunity of consulting the MS. or. Marsh. 662. "Plato's *Exhortation concerning the Education of Young Men*" is studied by me in *Orientalia, N. S. X*, 1941.

p. 395, note 2 : Another quotation from Galen's synopsis of the *Republic*, which I found in Joseph b. 'Aqnīn's *Kitāb tibb an-nufus*, is being published in the forthcoming edition of the *Timaeus*.

p. 395, note 3 : More fragments of this work in the *Kitāb adh-Dhakhīrah*, ed. by G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928.

p. 396 : I had no opportunity to consult al-Fārābī's paraphrase of the *Laws*, to determine whether it might have been the source of our quotation.

p. 396, note 3 : line 5 : (*Corr. in MS. ex*) ; line 7, No. 721.

p. 396, note 3 : Cf. at-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-muqābasāt*, Cairo, 1347 1929, p. 253s.

p. 397, note 4 : (v. above p. 389s.).

p. 398, note 1 : line 8s.: (v. above p. 396).

p. 402, note 1 : (see above p. 396).

p. 403, note 1 : The proverbial definition of the friend as the *alter ego*, which had been adopted by Aristotle, is also quoted by Joseph b. 'Aqnīn, *Kitāb tibb an-nufus*, MS. or. Oxford Hunt. 518=Uri 314, fol. 86a.—In the same way that this definition has been ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, so the famous Mystic Junayd is credited with it by the Arabs. I remember for this peculiar wording (whereas the identity of two lovers being expressed in the form : I am you, is very common in Sufism) only

the late *Kitāb manāhij al-akhlāq as-saniyah* by Abd 'al-Qādir al-Fākihī, MS. or. India Office 4573, fol. 80a : قال الحبيب شيخ المائنة : الا خ اى الصديق هو انت في الحقيقة الا انه غيرك بالشخص :

p. 400 : For the wording of this passage of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in Arabic cf. M. Bouyges, *Averroes, Tafsīr mā ba'd at-ṭabi'ah Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum. Serie Arabe, Tome V, 2*, Beyrouth 1938, p. 3s.

p. 407, note 1 : The Cairine photograph is taken from the MS. Mehmed Murad, 1408 in Constantinople.

p. 407, saying No 2 : "what is due to him" seems to be a more appropriate translation of *haqqahu* in this passage.

p. 407, saying No. 4 : Cf. the article devoted to Plato in MS. or. Princeton No. 723 = 110 B. p. 407, note 2 : ... see above p. 394.

p. 407, saying No. 6 : Amongst the sayings of Aristotle in Hunayn, cf. Loewenthal's translation p. 109. It has been adopted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz in his *Kitāb al-ādāb*, ed. by I. Kratchkovsky, *Le Monde Oriental*, 18, 1924, p. 84.

p. 407, note 4 : For the use of "modestia" as a translation of *σωψροσυνη* cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* III, 8.

p. 408, note 1 : Quoted by al-Ghuzūlī, *Matāli' al-budūr*, Cairo 1299-1300 1881, Vol. I, p. 299s.

p. 408, saying No. 24 : Amongst the sayings of Plato in Hunayn, loc. cit., p. 107.

p. 408, saying No. 26 : Cf. Hunayn, p. 161s., amongst the sayings of "Mahararius."

p. 408 saying No. 46 : Cf. as-Sūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo, 1341 1922, p. 45, and Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1929, p. 15s. Note 4, line 6-7 : Take out : which.. tract.

p. 409, note 1 : First line of the Arabic quotation : (MS. تَمَانِي (تَمَاطِي).

p. 409, note 1 : For "the assimilation of man to the Divine," we may mention further the *Rasā'il ikhwān as-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, Vol. I, p. 153; p. 317; Vol. III, p. 152; p. 348; p. 357. Also Moses b. Ezra, 'Arugat hab-hosem, *Zion* 2, 1842/3, p. 121, and al-Jurjani, *Kitāb at-ta'rifāt*, ed. by G Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 176., For ar-Rāzī cf. now his *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 108.

p. 410, note 4 : For this thought in Greek literature, cf. Gregory of Nyssa (cf. H. F. Cherniss, *The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa*, Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Philology, XI, 1, 1930, p. 40), and Antonius Melissā, in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, Vol. 136, col. 959/960 B (=Maximus Confessor, *Patrologia Græca*, Vol. 91, col. 969/970 A), see Th. Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, Erlangen, 1884, p. 63, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pædagogus* III, 1, beginning.—From the innumerable Arabic authors who quote his saying, only the name of Ibn al-'Arabi who uses it constantly deserves mention here (*al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyah*, Būlāq, 1293 1876, Vol. II, p. 202; Vol. III, p. 541; Vol. IV, p. 35; p. 240; p. 475; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn Al-'Arabi*, Leyden, 1919, p. 52). Also al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, *sarḥ 'ajā'ib al-qalb*, beginning, *Kitāb at-tawbah*, and *Kitāb ash-shukr*, Cairo, 1334/1916, Vol. IV, p. 23 and p. 100 may be added.

p. 412, note 1 : ar-Razi, *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 99s. and p. 106.

p. 414, note 5 : Cf. also as-Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-išrāq* which I was able to consult in Mahmūd b. Mas'ūd ash-Shirāzī's commentary (Teheran?) 1313-1315, p. 267s. (cf. also M. Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Abh. zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte, 38, Halle, 1912, p. 27).—Another copy of Ibn Kam-mūnā's commentary on the *talwīhāt*, which I could compare, is in the collection of Chester Beatty, No. AS 514.

p. 416, note 1 : line 2 : المدينة في النصمان to نورا ; line 4-5 : From , the text is omitted in the MS.

p. 417, note 3 : Some other instances are Abraham b. Dāwūd, *Emunāh rāmāh*, ed. and transl. by S. Weil, Francfort 1852, p. 33 = p. 42, and al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā'*, Kitāb riyādāt an-nafs wa-tahdhib al-akhlāq, Cairo 1334/1916, Vol. III, p. 47. Cf. also I Goldziher, Kitāb ma'āni an-nafs, AGGW, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 9, 1907, p. 18-21.—Galen's *Ethics* which has been published by P. Kraus (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University* V, 1939, p. lss.) is most important for the history of this branch of philosophy in Islam.

p. 417, note 5 : See above p. 402s...

p. 419, note 4 : This saying is quoted anonymously by Ibn Dāwūd al-Isfahānī, Kitāb az-zārah, p. 15, where, on the following page, Ptolemy is credited with another dictum; by Sa'adyāh, Kitāb al-amānāt wa-l-itiqādāt, ed. by S. Landauer, Leyden, 1880, p. 295 (cf. G. Vayda, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 92, 1932, p. 146ss. and the literature mentioned there); and, in a similar form, by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, Rawdat al-muhibbin, Damascus, 1349/1930, p. 97s.

p. 420, note 1 : The first saying is quoted by Joseph b. 'Aqnīn, Kitāb tibb an-nufūs, MS. or. Oxford Hunt, 518, fol. 87a.

p. 420, note 4 : Cf. L. Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Hosayn-Ibn-Mansour-Al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1922 Vol. I, p. 169ss.

p. 420, note 5 : Cf. also as-Sarrāj, Maṣāri' al-'ushshāq, Constantinople, 1301, 1883, p. 4 and p. 35, and ar-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Muḥādarāt al-udabā', Cairo, 1287/1870, Vol. II, p. 22.

p. 420, note 6 : ... (see above p. 408, note 3).

p. 420, note 7 : This saying is quoted from Hunayn by al-Ghuzūlī, *Mata'li'*, Vol. II, p. 95, and in the article on Hippocrates by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 29s. It is quoted anonymously by Ibn Dāwūd al-Isfahānī, Kitāb az-zārah, p. 17, and by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Rawdah*, p. 150s. Cf. also Dāwūd al-Antākī, *Tazīyin al-aswāq*, Cairo, 1319/1901, p. 14; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'arab*, Vol. II, second edition, Cairo 1346/1928, p. 116, quotes it under the name of Pythagoras.—The introductory story to this definition of love, published by R. Walzer (*JRAS*, 1939, p. 407ss.), is found, with omission of the Greek names and with some modifications, as quoted from al-Jābir in an-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyah*, loc. cit., p. 152; in al-Vaṣḥshā', Kitāb al-muwashshā', ed. by R. Brünnow, Leyden 1886, p. 64; further in Sufic literature, cf. al-Qushayrī, *Risālah*, Būlāq, 1284/1867, p. 191, and al-Ghazzālī *Ihyā'*, Kitāb al-mahabbah, Cairo, 1334/1916, Vol. IV, p. 300.

p. 420, note 9 : The first saying is also found in ar-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Muḥādarāt, Vol. II, p. 23.

p. 421, note 1 : ar-Rāzī, *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 41s.

p. 421, note 3 : A very similar version of this story is told by as-Sarrāj, Maṣāri', p. 2ss. From as-Sarrāj it is quoted by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Rawdah*, p. 152. (cf. also p. 153) and by Dāwūd al-Antākī, *Tazīyin*, p. 11. Cf. further an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, loc. cit., p. 116s. The version contained in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *'Iqd* (Cairo, 1316/1898, Vol. I, p. 163) is very different.









